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AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,
MAY 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the *Archæologia* or *Vetusta Monumenta*, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I. *A Letter from JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq., F.R.S., Director, to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq., F.R.S., Vice President, with an Account of the final Excavations made at the Bartlow Hills.*

Read 21st May, 1840.

DEAR SIR,

IN 1832^a I had the honour of addressing you on the occasion of the first excavation made by Lord Maynard at the Bartlow Hills. These hills were represented by me to consist of a line of four greater barrows, and of a line of three smaller barrows in front of the others; and I acquainted you that we then opened the three latter, and that, in each, we found a variety of Roman sepulchral objects.

In 1835^b I had the gratification to impart to you the important discoveries made on opening the largest of the four greater barrows; and in 1838^c I transmitted to you an account of further discoveries of Roman sepulchral relics in the south barrow. There remained to be opened the two northernmost barrows, and these we have lately excavated by means of a tunnel, or gallery, in each, on a plan similar to that adopted on former occasions.

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^a Archaeologia, vol. XXV. 1.
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^b Ibid. XXVI. 300.

^c Ibid. XXVIII. 1.
B

We found, as was suspected, that the northernmost hill had been disturbed at some former time. It will be seen in the plan^d of the hills, that the head of this tumulus is lowered, and it appears to have sunk in consequence of a section having been made down the side of it. In the centre of the base of this hill some portions of earthenware were observed, and it was manifest from different circumstances, that the deposit had been removed.

Our attention was therefore solely directed to the remaining hill, where the gallery opened had reached the hollow, indicative on former occasions of a sepulchral deposit, and on the 21st of April we proceeded to examine the tomb. Our party consisted of Lords Maynard and Braybrooke with their families, the Honourable Captains Gordon and Percy, Colonel Berkeley Drummond, Captain Bowles, R.N., Professors Whewell, Sedgwick, and Henslow, and the Revs. Henry Hart Milman and John Ewebank Leafe; and, among others present, were the Rectors of Ashdon and Bartlow.

The gallery extends forty-six feet, and nothing was found in clearing it out, except a flint arrow-head. It was observed that the base of the mound was not constructed of such decided alternate layers of earth and chalk as composed the other great barrows; there was less chalk, and in consequence there was generally more damp. It was also observed that a larger quantity of loose earth than on former excavations had fallen into the cavity, which, as in other instances, we found to be occasioned by the decomposition of some wooden chest. This chest, the wood of which was about two inches thick, measured three feet eight inches square, and two feet six inches high, and lay, north and south, rather below the natural soil, and not precisely in the centre of the barrow, the diameter of which is 101 feet at the base. The earth lay thick within the tomb, and it required some nicety to clear it away; at length we discovered a variety of sepulchral objects.

I. A square, wide-mouthed, greenish-coloured glass urn, with a reeded handle, similar to, but not so large as, the square glass urns found on each of the former excavations, the dimensions being ten inches and a half high, and five inches and a half square. This glass urn, which was full of burnt

^d Archaeol. vol. XXV. Pl. I.

human bones, had suffered from the weight of earth, and fell to pieces upon being touched. It is cast like the other urns in a mould, and at the bottom of it are two circles; in the outer circle the letters C and V, and in the inner circle, in the centre, the letter C.

II. A dark earthenware urn (Plate I. fig. 1,) with a figured pattern, measuring four inches and a quarter in height, and four inches and three quarters in diameter. It would seem that the glass urn above described, was too small to contain all the ashes of the deceased, and some of the bones were in consequence deposited in this earthenware urn. Professor Owen distinguished among them the lumbar vertebræ, the tuberosity of the ischium and the astragalus; and these belong to an adult.

III. A bronze præfericulum (fig. 2), with an elevated handle. The lower end of the handle terminates in a beautiful head decorated with a mitra and fillet, and with long curls descending at the sides. The eyes of the head are of silver. The ornament terminating the handle at the upper end, and which from the marks of the solder remaining would seem to have been another head, has not been found. This vessel is five inches high, and four inches one-eighth in diameter, and weighs 17 ozs. 6 dwts. It is of the same character as the bronze præfericula found in 1832 and 1838, but the form is less spherical.

IV. A bronze patera with a small handle (fig. 3). The handle has a scroll ornament at the back, and is crowned at the top with a head apparently veiled, resting on the necks of two swans or geese. The marks of the solder on the vessel shew that another handle corresponded on the opposite side, and which we have not been so fortunate as to find. The depth of the patera is one inch three-eighths, diameter six inches seven-eighths, weight 15 ozs. 2 dwts. Some organic matter adhered to the under side of the patera.

V. VI. Two yellowish spherical earthenware vessels, each with a narrow neck and an ear; one measuring seven inches in height, and five inches and a quarter in diameter; the other, ten inches and a half in height, and eight and a quarter in diameter.

VII. VIII. IX. Three vessels of red glazed earthenware; two, in the form of cups of different sizes, and one, in that of a saucer. In the smaller cup is the potter's mark, POTTACVΣ; the marks in the other two are illegible.

X. XI. XII. XIII. Four small dark earthenware urns of different shapes; one plain, the others figured with patterns, two of which are delineated (figg. 4, 5). It will be noticed by those who may refer to our drawings, that the yellowish spherical earthenware vessels, the red glazed pottery, and the dark urns described, are varieties of objects of a similar nature, found on one occasion or other in our former excavations.

XIV. A narrow long-necked glass vessel, having a shallow flat bottom, which was stained with the dregs of some liquid. A similar vessel, intended for *odores*, was found in 1835 in the great barrow.

XV. A bell-shaped glass vessel (fig. 6), not unlike the graduated measure used by chemists. This object is a novelty, and the substance and transparency of the glass are worthy of notice. It measures five inches and a half in height, and three inches three-eighths at the mouth. A similar glass was found in 1762, with other Roman relics, at Ash, in Kent.*

XVI. An iron lamp, with the wick remaining in the mouth. It does not differ from the others we have found on former occasions.

Among the vessels some vegetable remains were perceived, and Professor Henslow, who has examined specimens of them, is of opinion that they are petals of some flower as large as a poppy or a rose.

Such is the result of our excavation of the last of the Bartlow Hills. It adds certainly no new light to the history of these Roman sepulchres; but we are brought to the conclusion, that they are all of the same character. With regret I take leave of these mysterious hills; and if any thing can add to the gratification I have felt in my researches, it is the interest which the Society has been pleased to take in the progress of them.

I am, dear Sir,

faithfully yours,

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE.

HUDSON GURNEY, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

* Vide Drawing I. intitled "Antiquities discovered at Ash, near Sandwich, 1762," fig. 8, volume "Kent," in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

- II. *An Account of some Ancient Remains existing in the District adjacent to the confluence of the Wye and the Severn, in the Counties of Gloucester and Monmouth; namely, the probable line of the British Akeman Street, the southern termination of Offa's Dyke, the Earthworks of Buttindune, the leaden Fonts of Llancaut and Tidenham, and an identification of the Estrig-
hoiel of Domesday: by GEORGE ORMEROD, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., S.A., in a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 30th April, 1840.

Sedbury Park, Chepstow,
April 24, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE drawing which accompanies this Memoir represents two undescribed leaden fonts existing in the several parish churches of Llancaut, and Tidenham, situated within the manor of Tidenham in Gloucestershire, apparently of the Saxon period, and certainly casts from the same mould. The Memoir itself and the accompanying map relate also to other ancient remains existing within the same district of Strigul, which are of a local nature, but tending to connect some minor links of our national antiquities.

These subjects, which in some degree illustrate each other, are noticed in order of time, and are as follows: I. The probable line of ancient passage across the Severn and the Wye, in connexion with the British Akeman Street. II. The southern terminating portion of Offa's Dyke, coinciding in part with the line of the Akeman Street. III. The correspondence of the extreme point of Gloucestershire, inclosed within the lines of this Dyke and the two rivers, with the described site of the Danish fortress of Buttingdune, besieged by King Alfred. IV. The fonts before mentioned. V. An identification of the disputed site of the Domesday Estrighoiel or

Strigul (the Baronial head of the district occasionally referred to in the course of the memoir) with the castle and lordship of Chepstow.

I. With respect to the District itself, those who have visited Chepstow, Piercefield, and Tintern, will remember the Gloucestershire bank of the Wye opposite to those places, which (although it is no part of the Forest of Dean in a legal sense) may, with reference to the names of its civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, be properly called "the Forest Peninsula." It is bounded on two sides by the Severn and Wye, and terminates in a point at their junction, presenting, in various parts, lofty cliffs of mountain limestone to the Wye, and others composed of red marle, capped with lias, towards the Severn.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the character of these rivers near the point where the peninsula appears to have been crossed by the Akeman Street, at the southern extremity of the Cliffs described. The Severn, to the north of Beachley and Aust, and of the present ferry between them, forms at high water a noble lake-like expanse, across a large portion of which, near Beachley, the rocky ledge of limestone, called "the Lyde," projects at low water, having below it the Bristol Channel, and a succession of rocks, shoals, and rapids, which render navigation difficult and dangerous. The Wye, on the contrary, takes its sinuous and comparatively narrow course between successive promontories, projecting alternately from Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire, and continuing to the junction of the two rivers and the Bristol Channel.

It is well known that this part of Gloucestershire lay in the immediate line of the advance of the Romans against the Silures, but it contains no known military work of that British tribe, though such are numerous in the contiguous districts of Monmouthshire across the Wye.

Of these, one strong camp, apparently British, but probably remodelled by the Romans, crowns the cliffs of Hardwick immediately south of Chepstow, and, doubtless, protected the communication, hereafter noticed, in the British period. I conjecture that its modern name of "the Bulwarks" was preceded in those early days by the expressive designation which the Romans would not find in their own or in the Anglo-Saxon language, and which therefore I consider them to have borrowed from that of the earlier

inhabitants, when they gave the name of "Estrighoel" to that fortress, which evidently succeeded to this more ancient camp in the guardianship of the Wye mouth. Most of the British names are highly descriptive, and, as I am assured by a gentleman who combines classical attainments with intimate knowledge of the Welch language, that I am justified in conjecturing that Traigyl,^a or Treigl, (revolution or obambulation,) will apply to the crooks or windings of a river, I will venture to translate the "Castellum Estrighoel" (or Ys-Traigyl) as the Castle of the Crooks, an expression beautifully descriptive of those windings, in one of the most characteristic of which the Castle of Chepstow is situated.

This camp (possibly the British Strigul and now "the Bulwarks" in Hardwick), and the camp of Oldbury on the left bank of the Severn, are the termini of the present inquiry into the British line of passage.

In an Essay by Roger Gale,^b on the Roman Roads of Britain, the following opinion occurs with respect to the Ryknield Street, which is only of importance to the present question in shewing his belief in the general fact of an early line of passage from Oldbury.

He considers the Ryknield Street to have come from the north to Gloucester, and to have proceeded thence, "in all probability, to *Oldbury*, where formerly was the Ferry or Traiectus over Severn towards Caergwent; and if it did not run so far as St. David's, yet it may very well be supposed to have gone to Maridunum (Carmardhin), and to have taken in that branch of Antonine's Itinerary that lies "from Maridunum to Isca."—"The Strata Julia may have been part of it."—"I am apt to think this Strata Julia came near Strigull Castle."

The Roman Traiectus here mentioned is (in its general sense) the disputed Roman passage into Britannia Secunda, which has been referred by very numerous distinguished antiquaries to almost as many different places on the Severn, of which the passage now discussed is nearly the centre. Many of these opinions deserve the highest respect, but others have been formed without local knowledge of the channel or currents of the Severn, or

^a See Owen's and Davies's Welsh Dictionaries.

^b Leland's Itin. edit. 1767, vol. vi. p. 139.

of that marshy district which extends in a southerly direction from the left bank of the river (near Oldbury) towards the mouth of the Avon, between the Port Hills and Pilning Street on the south-east, and Aust on the north-west, leaving "Ingst" (insular both in name and appearance) in the centre of these former Marshes. Popular tradition considers this vale to have been once covered with the waters of the estuary.^c

In endeavouring, however, to connect the British road from Cirencester with that acknowledged portion of the Julian Way which lies on the western side of the Wye, this question is only so far touched, as to suggest, that where-soever the later Roman passage might be ultimately fixed, the prudence of that people would probably follow the established British line, in the first instance at least, in crossing so dangerous an estuary.^d

^c Compare, with regard to this sea-marsh, William of Worcester, p. 147, (who states the width of the present outlet of the Severn between Aust Cliff and Chapel Rock, now a mile, to have been only a sling's throw at the time of his visit,) with the Map of Coal Districts, Geological Transactions, i. N. S. pl. 38. See also an account of this level in Seyer's Bristol, i. 138.

^d In waiving this subject, it may, nevertheless, be desirable to notice some indications of Roman settlement at *Stroat* in Tidenham, and of communication between *Stroat* and Oldbury on Severn, which have escaped the numerous commentators on the 14th Iter of Antonine, though certainly reconcileable with it, (as *transposed by Gale*,) with one variation only, namely, the substitution of *XI* for *VI* in the distance between Abone, so transposed, and *Aquæ Sulis*.

Under this arrangement, the distances (if measured direct, which may approach to balancing the differences between English and Roman miles) would be found to place "Trajectus" and "Abona" precisely at the positions of *Stroat* in Tidenham, and *Knowle Camp* in Almondsbury; and the intermediate "Sabrina," (resting on the more apocryphal authority of Bertram's *Richard of Cirencester*,) would precisely coincide with Oldbury on Severn. All this, nevertheless, may be accidental coincidence.

Ancient roads (Roman or otherwise) are said to connect these points; but the present observations relate only to a possible Roman position, or adopted position, at *Stroat*. This village lies on that vicinal road from *Venta* to *Glevum* which has been noticed above, and which *Leman*, in his *Commentary on Roman Roads* (*Hatcher's Richard of Cirencester*, p. 114), has included in his *Rykniel Street*. Its distances are, between eight and nine miles from *Caerwent*, and four from the Roman camp and temple at *Lidney*.

At this point of *Stroat*, on a rising ground to the south-west of the village, are vestiges of excavations and earthworks, much reduced and altered by agricultural operations, and of

With respect to Gale's opinion as to the Ryknield Street descending to a ferry at Oldbury, that street—the communication between the north and

unknown origin, which, combined with the former marshy banks of the Severn, would inclose a space of about ten acres, nearly oblong, but somewhat rounded on the south-west side, and which it is difficult to refer to any thing but military purposes. The *Gaerston Hill* farm, adjoining, evidently derives its name from them (as ancient remains of unknown origin), but the appellations of "Street" preserved in the name of the village, and of the "Oldbury Field" (situated within the traces of earthworks), point, as far as they go, to Roman origin. This name of "the Oldbury Field," "in Strote," is authenticated by the original Court Rolls of the manor of Waldings in 1614, and relates to a slight elevation, which the former earthworks, if continued, would inclose, and which lies between two brooks which fall, at a short distance, into the Severn at Horspill and Waldingspill adjacent, near a "Hoar Stone" of unusually large dimensions. A military station in this position would defend the narrow pass between the Chase Hills and the Severn, and also the landing-place of an irregular ferry, still used for occasional communication between Stroast and the opposite village of Oldbury on Severn three miles distant. A corresponding ferry of the Wye, at Tintern, is guarded by the Roman Camp of Madgetts, and there are intermediate earthworks ("the Bulwarks"), which seem to have been raised to command a *later* road, (passing between Bowlash Hill and Ashwell Grange,) but, at the early period under consideration, these would be useless, and natural woods and escarpments, with a military position on each river, would suffice to check all assailants advancing from the north towards the passages, or *Caerwent*.

But there are other lines defending the area thus inclosed, namely, the lines of Offa's Dyke (afterwards discussed), which skirt the Wye in Tidenham; and which lines Mr. Fosbroke (varying from received opinion) has considered "as communications between the Roman Camps thrown out to check the Silures," which must have "guarded the Trajectus in a most powerful force, and almost invincibly have protected the passage of the Severn, through the numerous garrisons which could have been collected against an enemy within a very few hours." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iii. New Series, 491.) A substructure by an earlier prince or nation is perfectly reconcileable with Offa's subsequent adaptation of these lines to his purposes; and the preceding observations tend, in some points, rather to confirm, than otherwise, this theory of a vast advanced position between the rivers. But it must be remembered that no Roman remains have been discovered here (except the uninscribed altar afterwards mentioned, from Madgetts), and the difficulties arising from such want of authentication increase in proportion to the scale of the settlement or station which requires it. A Roman position defended on the sides towards the Wye by the lines attributed traditionally to Offa, and on the northern side by the earthworks at Madgetts and the Chase Hills, would be nearly co-extensive with the entire parish of Tidenham, which contains about six thousand acres,

St. David's—is now generally supposed to have turned to the west, at or near Gloucester; receiving in its further course, nevertheless, a line branching from the Ickenield Street (or British road from Yarmouth to Cornwall), such subsidiary line of the last-mentioned road passing through Cirencester, and thence over the Severn, to communication with the admitted Via Julia at Caerwent.

Lysons* traces this last-named branch of the Ickenield Street westwards, by Cirencester as far as Kingscote, and continues it conjecturally to Aust, but only conjecturally, and gives to it the name of that greater Street from which it branches.

Coxe† (who agrees with his friends Leman and Sir R. C. Hoare in calling this line the Akeman Street) traces it, in Gloucestershire, on the authority of Leman, to the great tumulus at Symond's Hall between Kingscote and Oldbury, leaving its further progress uncertain, as to tending towards Oldbury, or towards Aust; but in his map (directed by Leman) he brings it conjecturally across the Severn from the north of Oldbury, then through Sedbury in Tidenham, thence across the Wye to Chepstow parish, and thence onwards to Caerwent.

The following personal observations are in support of the portion of this line lying between Oldbury and Caerwent, delineated in the accompanying Map.

About two miles north of Oldbury, at Shepherdine, is a "pill," or mouth of a brook, with a landing place, where there is a gravel-bank, which is rare in this part of Severn. From this the market people pass weekly to the upper or lower pill (in Tidenham) severally situated above and below the Sedbury Cliffs, where there are also gravel-banks, and proceed by land to Chepstow Bridge. This passage from Oldbury takes the line of the principal channel slantways, and either pill is used as wind and tide render convenient. Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*,‡ notices this Passage, which he considers to be "of the remotest antiquity," but, being in pursuit of Roman communications, overlooks its connexion with British roads.

* Woodchester, p. 18, and map, *ibidem*.

† Monmouthsh. vol. i. p. 2* and p. 21*.

‡ *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i. p. 78.

From the lower or southern landing-place, immediately at the southern end of the Sedbury Cliffs (on the summit of which, as hereafter mentioned, Offa's Dyke terminates), a line of ancient disused road runs from river to river, parallel with this dyke, and on the southern side of it. It is traceable, first, to Buttinton Hill, where it crosses the turnpike road; it proceeds thence, down a lane very deep and narrow (and before some late alterations very much deeper), on the south side of "the Netherway field" to the former site of Sedbury Cross, where the road from the higher pill or landing-place formerly joined it. It is here remembered to have crossed the present pool at Pensilvania Farm; and it is still clearly traceable, by the side of the Dyke, to a considerable pill on the Wye, at Tiler's Marsh, protected by a large mount hereafter mentioned.

From this pill a boat would easily cross the current of the Wye, slantways,^h to either extremity of the limestone cliffs at Hardwick, on the opposite side of the river, but situated about a quarter of a mile lower down, on which Cliffs the Camp before mentioned, now called the Bulwarks, is situated. There is a very steepⁱ approach to it by the Fosse, and a much easier one by the more distant slope of Warrenslade. On the top of this slope or "slade," the decided gravel-bank of an ancient road commences, clearly distinguishable from the soil adjacent, leading past the principal entrance of the Camp, and then turning off towards Venta Silurum, or Caerwent; after

^h It would, of course, pass easily also directly across the Wye to the present site of Chepstow, but the space within the walls appears to have been avoided by both the trackways. It must also be observed that there would be no accessible place of debarkation directly opposite to "the Bulwarks," or to the south of this Pill, between it and Ewen's Rock, (which is about a mile lower down,) on account of the intervening alluvial sea-marsh. As late as 1651, an inquisition was taken in Cromwell's Court of Survey for his manor of "Tydnam," to define the road to this Ewen's Rock, which was probably at that time a general landing place within the Wye, and at the present day the marsh would be impassable without continual drainage.

ⁱ The fosse of this camp (which is in itself a most picturesque scene, from its connexion with the Cliffs and the Wye, and commands the varied prospects at the confluence of the two rivers and the Bristol Channel) has lately been cleared of brushwood and other obstructions under the direction of the Bishop of Llandaff, and forms a most interesting addition to his grounds at Hardwick.

which place the lines of the Akeman Street and Via Julia are unanimously admitted to coincide.^k

From the higher or northern landing-place on the Severn, another ancient way leads by the site of Anwards or Anwells, and turning southwards near Sedbury village, follows a deep hollow way (recently improved), through Herinbridge, to communication with the low line at Pensilvania, as before mentioned, and occurs in deeds of 1499, as the commonway, "a Cruce de Sedburye versus Anwelles." I consider it to have been of much higher antiquity, and to have thrown off a branch communicating with the vicinal road from Gloucester and Lidney to Caerwent, which passes Tutshill at about half a mile's distance from this apparently subsidiary line of the Akeman Street, but of such communication there are no existing indications.

Of this vicinal road at Tutshill, which is traceable in many places by the side of the present turnpike-road from Gloucester to Chepstow, it remains to add, that at Tutshill it visibly diverges from the turnpike road, in a westerly direction, towards the Wye, shewing its line through the turf of the fields, and occurring as a rude pavement in sinking foundations. There is a tradition of a bridge over the Wye having existed in early periods at a point below Tutshill, (nearly opposite Piercefield Alcove,) and parallel lines of black remains of stakes are clearly to be seen at low tides,^l completely crossing the bed of river, which can only be accounted for by supposing them to have protected some ford, or the foundations of this traditional bridge. From the Monmouthshire side of these stakes, a line of road may be traced, ascending the Piercefield cliffs, and visible through the brushwood at a considerable distance. Its further progress is in the suburbs of Chepstow; but

^k I apprehend that it diverged from the present line of turnpike road, or its neighbourhood, on the southern side of the brook at Pwll-Meyric, and passed up the deep valley between Crick and Runston. Beyond Crick its line has long been noticed by Coxe and others.

^l Coxe, who was unable to find them (Monmouthshire, ii. 364), must have sought them when covered by the tide, or at a wrong point. In the notes on the "Cyanea Cantio," Leland cites the note of a nameless commentator on some verses of Alexander Necham (Abbot of Cirencester), which mention the bridge on the Strata Julia, "quod vulgo Strigolium dicitur," (Itin. ix. 101), but the passage is unworthy of any particular consideration.

its direction is to the west of that town near the site of St. Kingsmark's Priory, from which it probably turned to the left, and joined the former road, or Akeman Street, in its progress towards Caerwent.

II. The next subject is the course and termination of OFFA'S DYKE.

Other Dykes on the edges of Mercia—Wansdyke, for instance, on the south, and the Devil's Dyke on the east—were demarcations made by adjacent nations, and cast up, as it were, against Mercia, to which we may add the boundaries formed by marsh, sea, and river, including the northern streams and estuaries of the Humber and Mersey. It remained for Offa to define the line of separation between his Mercians and the Britons of Wales.

This was effected (according to the Polychronicon^m) by the forming of a dyke, "quæ ab Austro, juxta Bristoliam, jugiter se extendit in Boream, fluminaq; Sabrinae et Deae in eorum penè primordiis transcendit, &c. (et?) usque ad ostium fluminis Deae ultra Cestriam, juxta Castrum de Flint, inter collem Carbonum et Monasterium de Basingwerk, in mare se protendit." Camden says more concisely, "a Devæ ostio usque ad Vagæ."ⁿ

This description will be found to be generally correct, if considered to include not only Offa's Dyke, but the attendant line called *Wat's Dyke*, which occurs only on the Mercian side of the Severn, and ranges from Basingwerk to Oswestry, in the rear of the line distinctively termed Offa's.^o The latter Dyke, commencing (or rather *terminating according to general belief*) at Caedwn in Mold parish, (being traced *backwards* in its course for the present purpose,) runs parallel at first with the northern portion of Wat's Dyke. Pennant^p has traced a continuous line of it between Caedwn and

^m Gale, XV. Scriptores, i. 194.

ⁿ Britannia, edit. 1590, p. 499.

^o I believe that the Cambrian authorities agree with the English Chronicles in thus referring *both lines* to Offa; but it is not intended to enter on their possibly consecutive construction, the alleged breaking down of a portion of the line, the Mercian colonization, or any thing beyond the statements requisite to lead the traced line of demarcation southwards to the point where tradition connects it with personally investigated remains. The reader may find the general statements in Caradoc's Welsh Chronicle, edit. 1584, p. 19, and a story which may refer to some portion of the outer line, in the additions to Matt. Paris. (Vita Offæ Secundi.) Edit. Wats, p. 47.

^p Pennant's Wales, 4to edit. ii. 273.

Bishop's Castle, excepting a space of five miles near Buttinton in Montgomeryshire, where the Severn intersects the Dyke, and probably was considered the boundary.

According to our best maps, a further continuous course extends southwards by Knighton to Lynhales near Kington in Herefordshire, where I am informed that the rounded mound of its devious line is extremely perfect. To the southwards of this the Ordnance map again marks another portion of it, between Staunton and Mansell Grange, abutting on the Wye near Garnon's Court.^q

To the south of Monmouth the Dyke is said to accompany the Wye on its left bank, and to pass on, parallel with it, through the coppices below St. Briavel's,^r bearing on the precipitous elevations of Tidenham parish, which commence at a point immediately opposite Tintern Abbey.

On the ridge of these hills, near the joint of Woolastone and Tidenham parishes, within Madgett, (the Modiete of Domesday,) my own observation takes it up, tending between the Wye, and earthworks and tumuli, proved to be Roman by the discovery therein of a sepulchral altar in my possession.

^q It is uncertain whether the Wye itself was the boundary through the southern part of Herefordshire, or whether a continuation of the dyke once existed here, in a course which Sir S. R. Meyrick has attempted to trace by indications of local names, in a memoir preserved in the Cambrian Magazine, and also in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. ciii. part i. 504. See also Sir R. C. Hoare's remarks, *Girald. Camb.* vol. ii. p. 394.

^r Mr. Fosbroke's personal examination of the dyke through these coppices is given in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. cii. part ii. p. 501, and he has other communications in vol. ci. part ii. and in vol. iii. new series, in the latter of which he appears to doubt the fact of the dyke, which he had traced along the Wye between Monmouth and Tidenham, being the genuine Offa's Dyke, chiefly from its not pursuing a direction conformable with precise points of the compass. Sir Samuel Meyrick's observation on this objection is, that Roman roads through conquered countries varied little from precise directions, but that Offa, marking "the boundary of his kingdom, extending much further west in some places than in others, could not avoid giving to his work an irregular appearance." A further conjecture of Mr. Fosbroke's, as to these lines being Roman, is noticed in page 9. No objection is offered to a theory of earlier works as a possible *substructure*, and to an adaptation of it, by the Mercian King, to his later purposes. The Dyke would not be less entitled to be considered Offa's Dyke from being, in some places, re-constructed on earlier foundations.

At this point a lofty and continuous mound, corresponding with the general described form of the Dyke in its more northern districts, commences, and proceeds through the thickets and coppices of Caerswall wood, along the hill-tops, to a remarkable rock called "the Devil's Pulpit," and is thence continued over similar wooded elevations, having Tidenham Chase on the left, and the low grounds of Walwere on the right, to a slade or marshy slope, descending from the Chase to the Wye, at which point the mound ceases.

Recommencing on the opposite side of the slade, it continues along the edge of the cliff, but in a less perfect form, to Denhill Hill, where it again ceases, having the farm of Wallhope in the valley on the left. After this succeed the precipitous crags of Banagor; which continue to the neck of land joining Llancaut to Tidenham, where earthworks of a different character occur (as hereafter noticed), but which popularly bear the name of Offa's Dyke.

After this the mound is discontinued along the edge of the lofty precipices of Penmoyle, across the top of the slope at Tutshill (which constitutes the present approach to Chepstow, and appears also to have been traversed by the vicinal road from Gloucester to Caerwent), and subsequently also along the precipitous Tutshill Cliffs, which extend along the Wye to the Pill at Tiler's Marsh before mentioned.

At the southern end of these Cliffs, and opposite to the termination of the Norman walls of Chepstow, is a mount partly natural and partly artificial, resembling those in the earlier course of the Dyke in the north, and protecting the landing place before mentioned, beyond which is an alluvial sea-marsh, still liable to overflows, and possibly the site of an ancient haven. To the east of a small brook contiguous to this mount and pill, the Dyke recommences, as may be clearly traced, though much of the soil has been carried away, and ascends the opposite slope, tending across the peninsula towards the Severn. It next descends through Pensilvania orchard in a nearly perfect form, and again rises towards the top of Buttinton Hill, on the summit of which a detached mass of it, called "Buttinton Tump," close to the turnpike road, forms the boundary of the hamlets of Sedbury and Beachley.

The Dyke next enters Sedbury Park, continuing to be a boundary of the hamlets, and for about a hundred yards of open ground bears marks, on the northern side, of the alterations in its form made by Rupert and Sir John Wintour in 1644. It then enters the site of Buttinton Wood, where the thickets of copse wood were lately removed, and in its descent shews a broad, lofty, and apparently unaltered mound, about forty feet in width at the base, and twelve or fourteen in height in the centre. At the foot of this descent it crosses a small combe and watercourse, and, rising rapidly, enters the remains of Buttinton Wood close to a precipice, where (as at Buttinton in Montgomeryshire) it *again* rests on the Severn, overlooking its junction with the Wye in the flat below, being precisely the point assigned by tradition and chroniclers for its termination.

It is observable that, in the part here described from personal observation, the Dyke is not a continuous line, but that it *generally* occupies a military position on high ground, filling up the intervals between marshy slopes and precipices, and there can be little doubt that the *limitary line* between Gwent and Mercia at this point was the Wye itself. Tradition considers the intermediate low grounds and projections as former neutral spaces for mutual communication and traffic, and it is observable that Churchyard mentions a similar tradition with respect to the spaces between Wats Dyke and that of Offa.^s

The projecting promontories are, Llancaut, Tutshill, and Beachley anciently Betteslegh. Llancaut is joined by a narrow neck of land to Tidenham, across which works range from cliff to cliff, consisting of two parallel mounds formed of fragments of limestone, with the convex side of the curve and the ditch towards Mercia. It may be either British, defending the narrow channel near the church below (called by Corbet "the passe of Wye"), or an entrenchment of Danish pirates. Tradition calls it Offa's Dyke, and I incline to consider it a British work, coinciding with Offa's line, and left unaltered. Sir John Wintour "*intended to fortify and make good*" these entrenchments in 1644, but was defeated here, and driven over the river.^t

^s Worthines of Wales, edit. 1776, p. 104.

^t Corbet, p. 136, in Bibl. Gloucestrensis.

On Tutshill no traces of the Dyke have been found in the narrow interval between the cliffs, which constitutes the present approach to Chepstow, but the slope rests on treacherous alternations of rock and marle, which may have altered the surface materially, and the cliffs may have been originally continuous.

The lines (already described) between Beachley and Sedbury were strengthened by Rupert and Wintour in 1644, and twice stormed successfully by General Massey. Mr. Webb correctly describes^v these royalist works as readaptations of an ancient encampment, traditionally connected with Offa's Dyke; Coxe, relying on a correspondent,^w adopts *his* opinion as to the lines "erroneously supposed by some persons to be Offa's Dyke," being merely an entrenchment thrown up in the civil war; and Sir Richard Hoare (Coxe's Monmouthshire fellow traveller), obviously leaning on Coxe's note, by using the words cited, conjectures the Wye to be the boundary south of Hereford, on the ground, that "no positive traces of the Dyke had been discovered beyond it."^x Coxe's opinion as to the original formation in 1644, may be answered by my title deeds of 1638, (14 Car. I.) which mention the "fforce ditch" at this point, as a known and established boundary.^y

III. In adverting to the probability that this last portion of the line (which stretches across the peninsula from river to river, and when combined with them forms a complete military position,) may have been raised by Offa on the foundation of earlier works, I wish also to notice the correspondence of this entrenchment with the description of one of later date—namely, the

^v In his Introduction prefixed to the Gloucestershire Civil War Tracts, p. xcvi.

^w Mr. Jennings, Custom House Officer, Chepstow. See *Tour in Monmouthshire*, p. 306.

^x Giraldus Cambrensis, ii. 395.

^y The precise point of Massey's attack was at Buttinton, where a part of the Dyke is sloped on the Tidenham side into an irregular glacis. Cannon shot are occasionally dug up in a line from this point down to the moated site of Badams-court, which was probably burnt by Wintour before those battles, as the remains of the walls shew marks of fire, and other portions of them were found lying within the moat (when lately cleared) in entire masses, as having fallen in the confusion of such destruction. No trace of the more modern works added by Rupert and Wintour remains. A large portion consisted of palisades.

disputed site of the settlement of Danish pirates at Buttingdune on Severn, which received Hastings in his flight from Alfred in 894-5.

It appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that the Danes on this occasion, joined by East Anglians and Northumbrians, marched westwards from Essex, by the Thames, towards the Severn; and that Alfred's forces, with auxiliary bands from Somersetshire, the east and north of Thames, the west of Severn, and North Wales, overtook the rear of the Danes at Buttingdune on Severn-bank, and beset them without, on each side, in a fortress. The conjoined accounts of the Chronicle and Matthew of Westminster describe Buttingdune* as a previous settlement of Danish pirates, of course accessible by sea, but, during the famine which ensued, cut off from all relief by the position of the fleet of Alfred, off the Devonshire coast. Matthew of Westminster adds, that the place was so surrounded by the waters of the Severn, that the King girt in the Pagans, by his fleet as well as his army. Finally the Danes, worn out by famine, attempted to cut through the Saxon force on the east bank of the river, (the means of which their vessels would easily supply,^a) and partially succeeded, after great slaughter, a small

* See Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 117, and Matthew of Westminster, p. 179, edit. 1601. The description of the latter is as follows:

895. "Eodem tempore Hasteinus iniquus et ceteri pagani quos exercitus Regis Ælfredi de Beamfleote fugaverat, disposuerunt transire ad concives suos, qui in occiduis partibus Angliæ habitabant. Arrepto igitur clam itinere per provinciam Merciorum, ad villam quandam super flumen Sabrinæ sitam, BUTTINGDUNE appellatum pervenerunt, ubi a confratribus suis reverenter sunt recepti, atq; in oppidum quod ibidem construxerant reverenter sunt recepti. Cumque hoc Regi Ælfrido nuntiatum fuisset, congregavit exercitum quasi invincibilem, et veniens ad oppidum prefatum, quod Sabrinæ fluctibus erat undique perfusum, paganos tam navali quam terrestri exercitu circumcinxit. At hostes post diutinam obsidionem, victu sibi deficiente, equos suos novissime devorabant. Tandem, omnibus consumptis, ab oppido necessitate compulsi exierunt, contra exercitum qui erat in orientali parte fluminis pugnaturi, ubi ex parte Regis in prima congressime cecedit Ordeinus minister ejusdem regis et multi alii cum eo, sed Christiani demum prevalentes in fugam adversarios compulerunt. Quos fideles sine pietate insequentes, multos in undis submergebant, et nonnullos gladiis detruncabant."

^a The width of the Severn here must have been very inconsiderable at this period, as William of Worcester states, in 1453, that Aust Cliff was within a stone's throw (of course from a sling) from that Rock which is still joined to Beachley on the opposite side at low

part (according to the Chronicle) escaping to Essex; (according to Westminster) to Wirhale in Cheshire.

It is not intended to offer any argument beyond what will be supplied by comparing these descriptions with the several localities. Boddington, on the Chelt, near Cheltenham (which has been conjectured to be the site), will certainly not stand such test; and many difficulties, with respect to the co-operation of the fleet, and the cutting off relief, by the position of Alfred off Devonshire, will be found to bear against the more probable site of Buttinton in Montgomeryshire, where strong works certainly exist, at the intersection of Offa's Dyke and the Severn. Buttinton in Tidenham has hitherto necessarily escaped the notice of general antiquaries, from bearing a name limited to adjacent fields and coppice-woods, those woods, until lately, having concealed the most complete part of the entrenchments which give the name to the position.^b

IV. The next subject is that of the leaden Fonts of Llancaut and Tidenham, referable from their style to the Saxon period, and, in addition to their high antiquity, and the rare occurrence of fonts of lead,^c deriving interest from their precise correspondence with each other, both being decidedly casts from the same mould.

The parishes of Llancaut and Tidenham are distinct in every sense, civil and ecclesiastical, except that both are within the manor of Tidenham; and

water—"Charstone Rok est ita magna rupis sicut rupis Sancti Tiriaci, distans a firma terrâ de Austelyff per jactum lapidis." For this he quotes "*Informacio Will'mi Powell de Tynterne*;" but this ancient preserver of measurements might have quoted from personal knowledge, for he had just visited Tintern Abbey, "*de Austelyff per aquam usque Chepstow navigando*." p. 144.

^b Mr. Harris, looking for the Roman Trajectus at this point in 1763, says, "by all the inquiry I could make, there do not appear any visible traces of a work of this kind at Tidenham or Beachley."—*Archaeologia*, vol. II. p. 2.

^c See Mr. Dawson Turner's remarks on the leaden font of Bourg Achard, in Normandy, ii. 97; and Mr. Gough's observations on ancient fonts, *Archaeologia*, vol. X. 187; and also Canon 81, directing "a font of stone" in every church (according to a former Constitution), "in which only font the minister shall baptize publicly."

the present fabrics of the two several churches are, in every part, more modern than the fonts under discussion. Tidenham is chiefly in the style of the fourteenth century,^d excepting the south doorway, and tall, narrow, trefoil-headed windows in the north aisle. The diminutive and almost dis-used church of Llancaut (which measures only about forty feet in length and twelve in breadth), possesses nothing of a decidedly architectural character excepting one small round-headed window at the east end, with plain cylindrical shafts attached, and without capitals.

It is impossible to conceive any situation more fit to carry the mind back to the period of the early British anchorites than the position of this rude fabric, in one of the most romantic crooks of the Wye, overhung by precipices, and surrounded by woods, which still extend, almost continuously, to the actual forest of Dean, and justify the appellation of Llancaut, or the Church of the Wood. Tradition states it to be one of the most ancient places of worship in the district, and its romantic and sequestered site still retains many of the attractions that might be supposed likely to have tempted a pupil of the schools of St. David's, or of St. Illtud at Llantwit, with both of which the Julian Way gave direct communication.^e It may also be added, that the Tutshill, on the left bank of the Wye, below Llancaut, the very name of the contiguous parish of Tidenham, and the peculiar character of a conical hill in the adjacent grounds of Piercefield, connected with earthworks which apparently are not of a military character, all point to the local worship of Teutates, and to those scenes of Celtic superstition which were often selected by the early Christians of Bri-

^d Amongst much mutilated glass in the south windows remain the arms and monogram of Sir John ab Adam, Baron of Beverstone, heir male of Herbert of Llanlowell, a warrior in the Scotch expeditions of Edward I., and husband of the rich heiress of the houses of de Gournay, Gant, and Berkeley of Were. The glass is of interest, as the seal of this Baron is wanting among those attached to the Letter of the Barons to the Pope engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. Its position at Tidenham is accounted for by the Baron's hereditary possession of the Herbert manors of Bettlesley and Gorse, with the mansion of Badamscourt in this parish, which (as well as Llanlowell) were enjoyed by his descendants, long after the Gournay estates had been dissipated by his son. The arms are, Argent, on a cross gules five mullets or.

^e As the designation of the contiguous woods of Banagor may refer to the British name for places of education and religion, or to Bann-y-gawr, *collis gigantis*, I leave the inference to Cambrian Antiquaries.

tain for the site of a purer worship. A reference to Bowles's Dissertation^e on the Worship of the Celtic Deity, and to the sites of the churches of Stanton Drewe and Abury, will confirm the observation.

We have, however, documentary evidence as to the existence of an ecclesiastical establishment in the manor, within which these two churches are situated, as early as the tenth century, though with respect to the churches themselves the evidence is very unequal.

With respect to LLANCAUT (as distinguished from Tidenham) Domesday is silent:^f but it occurs as a Rectorial Church in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1291, receiving a sum as "Portio Rectoris" from Tidenham. In a civil sense, we have it as "Hameletta pertinens ad *manerium* de Tudenham," in the Inq. p. m. of Earl Roger Bigod, 35 Edw. I. and it passed from the dissolved Marches into the county of Gloucester, as such component part of that manor, under the Act of 27 Hen. VIII., without being specifically named. At other times it appears to have been erroneously deemed a Chapel of benefices with which it may have been held; as of Lidney, in the Valor, 26 Hen. VIII., and of Tidenham in the time of Sir Robert Atkyns. Of late years (from having been included with Woolastone in presentations by a common patron) this church and Alvington have been returned as Chapels of that parish; but Llancaut has still, in every sense, all distinct ecclesiastical and civil rights necessary to constitute a separate parish, being included nevertheless within the *manor* of Tidenham, the lord of which possesses, and has possessed, immemorially, the *advowson*; of which hereafter.

With respect to TIDENHAM, we find that in 956 Edwy, then ascending the English throne, gave to the Seculars of Bath Abbey thirty manses, with all appendages, specified largely, and extending apparently over all the lands of the district, "*illo in loco qui a rurigenis appellatur Dyddenhame*," with exemptions from every thing except the usual three services.^g The

^e *Hermes Britannicus*, London, 1828, p. 79 and 105.

^f It must be distinguished from the "*Lancoit*" of another early document, "the Book of Llandaff," (*Mon. Ang.* vi. 1225,) which follows the lands granted by British Princes to that See, extending from Matherne to Portcasseg immediately opposite to *Llancaut*. The site of this other place of kindred name was in Llyswen parish, Brecknockshire.

^g See the late edition of the *Monasticon*, vol. ii. 256, 264: and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ii. p. 327.

Benedictines (who succeeded the Seculars in the same Abbey) granted these manses, with their appendages, for life, to Archbishop Stigand (the Confessor of King Edward), who was disgraced by the Conqueror, and died in prison.

Domesday notices Tidenham under three distinct heads, in all of which the previous possession of Stigand is recognised.

One entry follows Modiete (the present Modesgate or Madgetts in Woolastone and Tidenham) among the lands of Roger de Laci. This entry *may* relate to Llancaut; but, if otherwise, that territory is unnoticed, except as being tacitly included within the manor of Tidenham.

The next entry relates to a part of Tidenham (in Twiferde hundred) belonging to William de Ow (Count of Eu), which, subsequent to the compilation of Domesday, and on the Count's conviction of treason by judicial combat at Salisbury, became forfeited to the Crown in 1093, according to Ordericus, or 1096 according to Simeon of Durham.^h This entry also stands clear of the present question.ⁱ

The remaining entry relates to the "manerium nomine Tedenehame," in the hundred of the same name, which is stated to have been held in the Saxon period by the Abbots of Bath, to have been exonerated from all tax

^h Ord. Vit. p. 704. Simeon Dunelm. p. 222.

ⁱ Some further particulars respecting it may however be requisite, with respect to what is afterwards stated of the Counts of Eu, the hundred of Twiferde, which identifies the locality of this part of Tidenham, and the connexion of the whole subject with the boundaries cited afterwards to prove the position of "Strigul." The forfeiture of the English lordships of William Count of Eu is mentioned in the text, in which Odelaveston or Woolastone accompanied Tidenham. In 1073, after the defeat of Roger Earl of Hereford at Fakedun (Fakenham?) by William Earl Warren and Richard Fitz Gilbert, the Earl of Hereford's *portion* of Tidenham was *also* forfeited. In addition to Strigul Marchership, these two forfeited portions of Stigand's lordship of Tidenham, with Woolaston, were afterwards vested in the Clares Earls of Pembroke and Marshalls of England, (possibly, and in part by a remunerating grant from the Crown to Richard Fitz Gilbert himself,) and constituted "the Earl Marshall's Liberty," extending from Strigul Bridge to Cone in Alvington. This, by the 27 Hen. VIII. is considered part of the Marches and annexed to Gloucestershire, but in the Hundred Rolls (i. 181), it is distinctly and truly stated to have been formerly part of the *county* (though then withdrawn from it by some means unknown), and to have been included in Twiferde hundred to the time of King John. This mode of mixing up Saxon hundreds with lordships marcher, and with what was obtained (to use the words of the very inaccurate Tintern Chronicler) "*licentiâ conquerendi super Wallenses*" (Mon. Ang. v. 270), appears to be an anomaly.

except provision for the monks, and to have been in the tenure of Archbishop Stigand when Earl William (Fitzosbern of Hereford and Bretteville) received it; all which agrees with the charters cited.

The manor is further stated to have had a church, "*Ecclesia Manerii*," given to the Abbey of Lire by Earl William; to have passed by descent to Earl Roger; and to have become subsequently the property of the Crown. The forfeiture is stated in the preceding note.

The order of these events is as follows: The manerial grant to *Archbishop* Stigand was, of course, subsequent to his consecration in 1051; and the Conqueror's grant to Earl William subsequent to that King's accession in 1066. The alienation of Tidenham to Lire Abbey followed, but there is no reason for supposing that Llancaut advowson, which still continues to pass with the manor of Tidenham (within which the vill of Llancaut is included), ever was severed, or for doubting that *both* advowsons were appendant to Tidenham manor, before Earl William's grant of Tidenham advowson, &c. to Lire. Such grant probably took place about the time of Stigand's disgrace in 1068,ⁱ and certainly before 1071, when the Earl fell in battle in Flanders,^k the Archbishop having perished in prison about a year before. Since that time there is historical evidence of the advowsons having continued separate up to the present period.

It will, perhaps, be admitted that the similarity of the fonts points to a donation by some person having a common interest in both churches. The Earl's possession was short and disturbed, and Stigand was certainly no *giver*. The antecedent possession of the Abbots of Bath, who in general probability were likely to have presented fonts to their rural churches, on receiving the donation of "*Dyddenhame*" from Edwy, took place in 956.

From this let us turn to the fonts themselves, the decorations of which are in alto-relievo, and precisely the same in both, consisting of figures and foliage ranged alternately under ornamented circular arches, the design on the perfect font of Tidenham being thrice repeated. The figures will be understood better from the annexed engraving than verbal description, but may be stated to represent two venerable figures, in rich dresses, seated on

ⁱ Mon. Ang. ii. 256.

^k Vincent's *Discoverie of Errors*, p. 234.

thrones, the first figure holding a sealed book, the second raising his hand, as in the act of benediction, after removal of the seal from a similar book, which is grasped in his hand. The architecture may be referred either to the later Saxon, or earlier Norman period; but the dress, and, in particular, the beards of the figures, the decorations of the thrones, the ornamental foliage, and the scrolls, will more probably be referred to the Saxon æra. As far as their coarser execution will allow the comparison, they very much resemble the delineations given in the *Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*, lately published in the *Archæologia*.¹ The figure with the sealed book, in particular, resembles the representation of the "Trinitas" in that volume, excepting a difference in the composition and adaptation of the nimbus.

Mr. Ottley considered it not improbable that one of the illuminations in this *Benedictional* is by the artist that executed the *Cottonian MS.* in the *British Museum* (Vespasian, A. VIII.)^m containing the charter of King Edgar to Winchester; and he felt no doubt in his own mind that the first part of the latter MS. was written in the year 966, by command of King Edgar, a date falling by exact coincidence within that to which (as before shewn) a series of documentary evidence refers the æra of the fonts of Llancaut and Tidenham.

The Tidenham font is completely perfect, and is placed on a short cylindrical column with plain projecting base and cap; but that of Llancaut has suffered much damage, besides loss of two of the original twelve compartments. This latter font is placed on a column with a projecting plinth, circular in its lower part and octagonal above, very rudely cut, and apparently adapted to the reduced diameter of the font; in all other points the resemblance is exact. The damaged state of this latter font, and of the church itself, may be attributed to the consequences of the skirmish here in 1644, and the pursuit and slaughter of the Royalists at the pass of the Wye immediately adjacent.

V. In the course of this memoir the identity of Estrighoiel or Strigul with the present Chepstow has been assumed, but the contrary has been stated

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. XXIV. p. 87.

^m *Ibid.* pp. 32, 33.

by Camden, and that locality assigned by him and numerous followers to the Castle or Castellet of Troggy on the verge of the lordship, near Usk. A denial of Camden's deliberate statement requires strong support, and it may not be considered improper to conclude this memoir with a discussion of the disputed identity. The identification also of that Norman fortress on the Wye, which succeeded to "the Bulwarks" that defended its British and perhaps its Roman passage, goes far towards supporting the importance of that earlier stronghold, and of the communication which the Celtic tribes of Britain committed to its protection.

It may be right nevertheless to admit, in thus maintaining the superior consequence of the parent castle (Strigul, otherwise Chepstow), that the same name, or a mere variation of it, may have been borne, even in the British period, by Camden's castellet on Pencaemawr, called Troggy at present, and Torrogy in records. Both names are of kindred origin, and derived from a class of words referring generally to *motion*, and when uniformly marked, or otherwise, with the prefix "ys," easily corrupted into each other.^a

^a The confusion of opinions on this subject has been great. Sir R. Atkins, misled by the juxtaposition of Gloucester and Estrighoiel in Domesday (Hist. of Glost. p. 45), unaccountably translates "Castellum Estrighoiel," as "The Castle of Eastbridge Hotel in Gloucester." Gale fancies that he sees "Strata Julia" in it, and Humphrey Lhwyd considers it "somewhat neare to Siluria." (Twyne's Translation, fo. 81 b.) Williams, in his Monmouthshire (p. 140), not being aware of the error of the Tintern Chronicler (Mon. Ang. v. 269, no. iv.) who confounds the two principal Norman grantees in Tidenham (William Fitz-Osborne of Bretteville and Hereford, and William Fitz-Robert, of Eu), and the two successive lines of the Norman Counts of Eu, thinks that the names of both castles are derived from "Castrum Ogie," as having both been held by "Clare, Lord of Ogie." It is true that the Clares were male descendants of the eldest line of the Counts of Eu, and that after the two forfeitures already mentioned (as explained in a previous note) they obtained both the portion of Tidenham which had belonged to their kinsman William Count of Eu (representative of the second line), and that of Roger Earl of Hereford, whose rebellion was put down by Richard Fitz-Gilbert, surnamed de Tonebrugge, and the great ancestor of this Norman house; but Clare of Strigul and Pembroke *never* possessed the title of Count of "Ogie," or Eu, nor were the two Monmouthshire castles ever possessed by any one holding such title.

This

To return to the direct statement of Camden (*Britannia*, edit. 1590, p. 508). "Vaga, cum jam ad Ostium fere devenerit, Chepstow preterfluit, id est, si Saxonice interpreteris, forum vel negotiationis locus, Britannis Castle Went. Oppidum hoc est celebre, quondam mœnibus^o nunc solum Castro firmum, cujus domini fuerunt e Clarensum familiâ nobiles, a *proximo castro* Strighull (quod incoluerunt) Striguliæ et Penbrochiæ Comites dicti." In the next page he proceeds, "Ad quintum hinc milliare *Strigulia Castrum* ad montium radices sedet; *nos hodie Strogile, Normanni Estrigil vocarunt, quod (ut est in Gulielmi primi libro censuali) Gulielmus Fitzosborn Herefordiæ Comes construxit*, posteaq; Comitum Penbrochiæ, e Clarensum familiâ, *sedes erat*."

This remark of Camden, that the Castle of Strogile at the feet of the mountains was the Domesday Estrigil, built by Fitz-Osborne, and the seat of the Clares, Earls of Pembroke, is apparently founded on an unguarded misconception of the following more cautious passage in Leland, who elsewhere terms Walter de Clare, "D'm de Strogil alias Chepstow," and in his commentary on Cygnea Cantio, writes, "Strigulia alias Chepstow"—

"The principal town of Low Venteland is Chepstow. Sum say that the old name of this town is Strigulia. Sum think that Strigulia should be sum other place, because that the Lord Herebert writeth himself Lord of *Chepstow and Strigul*, as of ij diverse places. There appere a v or vj englich myles from Chepstow yn a great woodside under a hill, very notable ruines of a Castel cawiled Trogy, wherby runneth a lytle broke of the same

This subject may be traced in Duchesne's *Scriptores Hist. Normann.*, to which the appended pedigrees give easy reference.

Apparent whimsical corruptions of this British name, "Traigyl," or "Treigl," may be found in the Wye nearer its confluence with the Severn, in the field at that point, and in the name of the rocky island and anchorite's chapel at the junction of the rivers. William of Worcester sometimes terms this, the "Rok Seynt Tryacle," and sometimes Latinizes it into the "Capella Sancti Teriaci Anachoritæ." In Saxton's map it appears as "St. Treacle Chapel." The Valor of 26 Hen. VIII. has "Capella Sti Triaci," and the ruins are often called St. Tecla's (euphoniæ gratiâ), but the natives and mariners uniformly use the absurd corruption given by Saxton. In this derivation, as in the other, I rest on the authority of a native antiquary. Another prefers Trigle, *habitationis locus*, but the Troggy is a stream of the Forest, which takes the name of Nedern, when it approaches the habitations of man, and the Station of Venta.

^o If by this expression Camden intended to affirm the destruction of the still existing walls, he must obviously have written on this point without local communication.

name. The name of this Castel sumwhat cummeth to the name of Strigulia, but it standeth, as they say ther, in Middle Venteland."^q

Lord Herbert's distinction was obvious. Like Scott's Marmion, he was Lord of "tower and town," and wished to be styled of both; the *town* generally, though not invariably,^r bearing the name of *Ceapstow*, or the place of traffic, whilst the castle and honour were named Strigul. Thus in 12 Edw. III.^s the King grants to his brother Thomas "the *Castle and manor of Strogoil and Vill of Chepstow*," and in 1 Edw. II. John de Crumwell has custody "*Castri nostri de Strugeill cum chaceis et parcis, &c. necnon et ville nostre de Chepstowe*."^t

The mention of "*flumen Vaga apud Castrum Strigulense*" in the Polychronicon,^u might perhaps be sufficient to identify the veritable Strigul of the feudal day, more particularly when strengthened by the statement of Lhwyd (Camden's contemporary) in the preceding note; but the following series of points connected with *Strigul* in records compared with remains traceable in *Chepstow* in 1840, will, at once, settle their identity, and prove which of the castles was the chief seat of this great marchership.

CASTLE OF STRIGUL. Domesday^x only mentions three castles (or castellates, implying castles) within the present area of Monmouthshire—Mone-mude, Carlion, and Estrighoiel, the last being expressly stated to have been built by (the Earl of Hereford) Comes Willielmus.

The existing castle of Chepstow has a massive oblong keep according with such æra, with flat buttresses and round-headed arches, layers of Roman bricks in the walls, and herringbone masonry in the foundations.^y

^q Itinerary, vol. vi. fo. 23, and ix. 101.

^r As a proof of the names being occasionally used indifferently, may be cited, on one side, from Rot. Parl. vi. p. 207, 22 Edw. IV. the saving to William Erle of Huntynndon, of the "*Castelles, Lordships and Manors of Chepstow and Gower*;" and *ibid.* pp. 292-3, the petition of the coheirs of Charles respecting proceedings connected with the transfer from the Duke of Norfolk to William Lord Herbert of the *Lordships, Manors, &c.* called Gower Lands and *Shepstow*; and, on the other hand, in Twyne's Breviary 1573 (translated from Humphrey Lhwyd's *Commentarioli Descriptionis Britannicæ*), "*Chepstow, a fine market town in Wenta, before a few years passed, was called Strigulia*."

^s Rot. Pat. 42 b.

^t Rot. Orig. i. 154.

^u XV. Script. p. 194.

^x Domesday, i. 162.

^y It may be excusable to diverge from the immediate object under discussion, to observe

PORT. The same castle "*reddebat xl. solidos tantum de navibus in silvam euntibus.*" All passage up the Wye to the Forest would be still commanded by Chepstow castle if occupied for military purposes, and the vessels in Chepstow port pay dues to its proprietor at the present day.

BURGH. Domesday next notices the "*Villa ipsa,*" that is, the ancient Burgh, the Vill adjacent to the Castle. The Tintern Charter, 1 Hen. III. confirms to the monks their possessions "*infra Burgum Strugull,*"^y and among the writs dated from Aberconwey (11 Edw. I.) directing provisions to Montgomery, one is addressed to the "*Ballivi de Strogoule.*"^z cccviiij Burgages, paying customary rent, are noticed in that part of an inquisition taken after the death of the Lord Marcher Roger Earl of Norfolk, 35 Edw. I. which relates to the castle and borough of Strogoul.

Eleven years before the dissolution of the Marches, "the bailiffs and burgesses of his town of Chepstow" had a regular charter of incorporation from their Lord Marcher, Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, dated Dec. 2, 1524;^a but so late as 1614, the same place is described in the Court Rolls of the manor of Waldings, as "*Strugulle ats Chepstowe,*" in accordance with the statement of Humphrey Lhwyd before mentioned.

that there is nevertheless much relating to ancient castles (though not so named) within the Domesday Survey of the district apparently attached to Estrighoiel, which stretched to the Usk, and constituted the germ of the future marchership. Among these will be found "*Caroen,*" (the ruins of the Roman *Venta Silurum,*) and three "*Hardvices,*" or (fortified?) granges within the part of such district distinctively called "*Wales.*" These are, *Lamecare*, *Poteschevit*, and *Dinan*, viz. *Llanvair*, *Portskewit*, and *Dinham*. At the first and last of these ruins of Norman castles still exist, and at Portskewit there are earthworks near the church, and also very strong ones at Sudbrook (which has been considered a Roman Station), but it is impossible to connect either of these, precisely, with the "*Hardwick*" of Domesday, or the earlier palace of Harold, burnt in 1065 by the Gwentian Prince, *Caradoc ap Gruffyth*, mentioned as "*Rex Caraduech*" in Domesday. Caldecot is also named, but the British Episcopal Seat of Matherne, and almost total ruin of the Bishopric of Llandaff, are unnoticed.

^y Mon. Ang. vol. v. p. 268.

^z MS. "*Treatise of Lordships Marchers,*" p. 138, abstracted in Appendix to Pennant's *Wales*, vol. ii. 4to edit. p. 443.

^a An ancient translation of this charter is preserved in the Duke of Beaufort's office at Chepstow; the original is supposed to be lost.

This Charter, identifying the Burghs of Strigul and Chepstow, is obsolete, but the Burgh itself still possesses its ancient streets and houses, with arched vaults, and other undeniable vestiges of antiquity, including its embattled and turreted Port walls.

PRIORY. In 1168 the fourth part of the "*Decima de Striguliis*" was confirmed to the Abbey of Cormeilles in Normandy by Pope Alexander III.^b The dependant Cell at Strigul is proved to have existed in the time of Henry II. by a charter of Baderon de Monmuthe, mentioning his marriage in presence of several of the Clare family "*apud Striguiliam*," the charter itself being witnessed by Odo, "*Striguilensis Prior*," Comitissa Ysabel, &c.^c The Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1291 notices a pension payable to the same priory of "*Sturgoil*" from Tidenham.

The large area of the priory site still remains at Chepstow unbuilt on; the ornamented gravestones of the ecclesiastics have occurred in numbers in the recent alterations of the conventual church; and in the valuation of the dissolved Priory of Chepstow, temp. Hen. VIII., a pension from Tidenham is noticed.

CHURCH. "*Ecclesia de Storguyl, cum Capell.*" (*Taxatio Eccl. P. Nicholai*, 1291.) I apprehend this church to have been built immediately after the Domesday Survey, as no church at this point is mentioned in it, although it may perhaps be implied that the endowments of a former one are alluded to in the mention of a priest, and religious appropriation of revenues.

The remains of Chepstow church, after much recent demolition, consist of a vestibule, four compartments of the central aisle of the nave, and the north porch, and in these are as interesting specimens of the unadorned round arch, and massive pier, as England or Normandy can boast, resembling the most ancient and simple parts of Tewkesbury and St. Alban's. The Valor 26 Hen. VIII. notices Chantries appendant to the church, and the site of the detached chapel of St. Anne is remembered.

BRIDGE. Finally, the locality of the Bridge over the estuary of the Wye at Strigul is thus noticed in the Hundred Rolls (i. 181) in 1273: "*Comes Mariscallus habuit libertatem suam de Cone usque ad pontem de Strugull, nesciunt quo warranto.*" The chantry of St. David's chapel, "*juxta pontem de Strugull*," occurs also in the inquisition after the death of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 35 Edw. I.

^b *Neustria Pia*, p. 600.

^c *Mon. Ang.* iv. 597,

Such bridge is described as existing at Chepstow in the time of William of Worcester (1476), and in 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 26. It, or its successor, is mentioned as ruinous in Leland's Itinerary and in the Chepstow Bridge Act of 18 Eliz. and as "clean carried away," in the Act of 3 Jac. I. The curious wooden bridge represented in Atkyns's work made way for the present iron one in 1816. All these occupied nearly the same site, and the existing one forms the same boundary as that formed by "Strugull Bridge" in 1273, viz. that of Tidenham, as one of the manors and parishes "being between Chepstow Bridge in the Marches of Wales and Gloucestershire;" these manors constituting the district re-annexed to Gloucestershire by 26 Hen. VIII. precisely coextensive (as explained in a preceding note) with the Earl Marshall's Liberty noticed in the Hundred Rolls.

The Chapel-house farm at the Gloucestershire end of Chepstow bridge also commemorates the former chapel of St. David at the end of "the pons de Strugull," of which some remains existed about 1814.

If we collate the same points with Troggy, we find there only the doubtful earthworks of a British Gaer (or mountain fortress), a ruined castellet of inferior scale and uncertain architecture,^c and Leland's "lytle broke of the same name:" but as to Norman castle, navigable river, port, vill, priory, church, bridge, and boundary of known extensive manors, all necessary to identify Estrighoiel, and all indisputably clear at Chepstow, not one is, or ever was, to be found at Troggy.

Bishop Tanner has remarked, that where Chepstow occurs in ancient records Strigul is absent; and Coxe, and the Editors of the Monasticon, justly assent to his deduction of their identity from this circumstance. The inquisition 35 Edw. I., already cited, proves the same by contrary process, by

^c The windows are of various ages, but none of the regular Norman form represented in some late engravings. In the writ to John de Monemue to take possession of the castles of Gilbert Marescall', late Earl of Pembroke (Pat. Fin. 25 Hen. III.) Strigoyll, Usk, and Karelioun are only noticed, and there is no existing part of Troggy that appears older than this period. The partition of these Lordships is supposed to have followed the death of Earl Anselm in 29 Hen. III. and the erection of a Castellet at this point would *then* become desirable to protect the new frontier, which soon afterwards was the scene of feudal warfare between the Earls Marshall, Lords of Strigul, and the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, as Lords of Usk.

naming both castles in the same document, and shewing that Strogail and Torrogy were distinct. In the early part of the inquisition "Strogail castrum cum Bertona" stands at the head of its dependencies, including, under the description cited, the Castle Barton, the Park, the Mills of Pwll-Meyric, and the numerous cots of the tenants in villenage, constituting the hamlets of Penterry and Hardwick, both being appurtenances of the Castle Barton—at the end of them is "Torrogy Turris," followed by a tenement of 187 acres (of which the greater part was waste), described as "Plattelonde dicto turri pertinens."

The last evidence is that of the "Court Baron and Court of Survey of the Honour of Chepstow, alias Striguil" in 1824, which returns "Cas-Troggy, or Striguil Castle," as one of the extreme boundaries of perambulation; but in answer to the question, "What is the chief seat or capital mansion of this manor?" formally returns from the old surveys, "that the same is Striguil, alias Chepstow Castle."

If, as I cannot but fear, the preceding detail may seem too minute, I must plead the words of Roger Gale, who, in endeavouring to trace the Ryknield Street, where I have sought one of its connecting branches, expresses his hope, that "it might induce those who were lovers of English antiquities, and had leisure enough, to examine the courses of these ways near their residences," and thereby contribute to the stock of more general antiquaries the result of local and more particular observation.

Believe me to remain

very faithfully yours,

GEORGE ORMEROD.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.

III. *Observations on the Heraldic Devices discovered on the Effigies of Richard the Second and his Queen in Westminster Abbey, and upon the Mode in which those Ornaments were executed; including some Remarks on the surname Plantagenet, and on the Ostrich Feathers of the Prince of Wales.* By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.

Read 4th June, 1840.

THE volume of Monumental Effigies, drawn and engraved by Mr. Charles Alfred Stothard, F.S.A. the late draughtsman to the Society, is so generally known and so highly appreciated wherever known, that it is only necessary, in order to introduce the subject of the following remarks, to remind the reader that it was left imperfect, in consequence of the author's sudden death, from a lamentable accident which occurred in the pursuit of his congenial profession. It was a part of Mr. Stothard's plan to have included in his work a complete series of the effigies of the Kings and Queens of this country; and for that purpose he visited France, and brought from Fontevraud his drawings of the statues of Henry the Second and his Queen, of Richard the First, and of Isabella Queen of John; and from the Abbey of L'Esperance, near le Mans, the effigy of Berengaria, Queen of Richard I., as well as the figure of Geoffrey, Comte of Anjou, from an enamelled Plate in the church of St. Julien at le Mans. There were others, however, and those by no means inferior to any in beauty or interest, which had been left, perhaps from the very reason of their being within immediate reach, until some convenient opportunity, which was frustrated by the premature close of the artist's career. I allude particularly to those^a of Queen Philippa, King Richard the Second, and his Queen Anne of Bohemia, all in Westminster Abbey.

^a Mr. Stothard also intended to have included in his work all the knightly effigies in the Temple church. Those he omitted will be given by the Messrs. Hollis.

The task of completing Mr. Stothard's design has been recently adopted by Mr. George Hollis (the son-in-law of Mr. John Buckler, F.S.A.), and his son Mr. Thomas Hollis: and among the objects of their earliest attention have been the royal effigies just named. In the course of making his drawings from the monument of Richard the Second, Mr. Thomas Hollis discovered that the robes of the effigies, and the platform or bed upon which they are placed, are ornamented with various patterns, punctured upon the metal, which had become so entirely concealed by the accumulated dirt of centuries that they were at length forgotten and unknown.

This discovery is interesting in two respects; both on account of the various devices developed, the history of which forms a curious branch of heraldic investigation; and also from the peculiar, and at the same time very beautiful manner in which they are impressed.

The minute and elaborate finish, which is characteristic of the works of ancient artists, cannot escape observation. It is very evident in their illuminated miniatures, where the patterns of the dresses of the persons represented are often clearly made out, together with those of the tapestry and other accessories; whilst sometimes, and even in outdoor scenes, the whole background, where modern artists lightly sketch their sky and clouds, is occupied by a diapered pattern, very minutely delineated. In like manner it was usual to embellish with patterns the fields and larger ordinaries of armorial shields. In short, no portion of a design was left unadorned with elaborate workmanship.

Having adverted to this characteristic of the arts of our ancestors, I will merely, by way of further preface, point out the prevalent custom of forming the patterns of furniture, plate, tapestry, and dresses from devices—heraldic devices as we should now term them, allusive to the particular person or family for whom they were intended. This circumstance, again, will be familiar to those who are conversant with old illuminations; and that such pictures are accurate representations of the dresses and furniture which were in general use among the great, is evident upon the perusal of any of our collections of ancient wills and inventories, as well as from portions of painting still remaining on some sepulchral effigies.*

* See the note on Fret-work towards the close of this paper.

In 1375 the Black Prince bequeathed to his son Richard his hangings for a hall, embroidered with mermen, and a border of red and black impaled, embroidered with swans having lady's heads, and ostrich feathers: to his wife, the Princess, he bequeathed a hall of red worsted, embroidered with eagles and griffins, with a border of swans having lady's heads; and to Mons. Aleyne Cheyne a bed of camoca, powdered with blue eagles. In 1385, Joan Princess of Wales bequeathed "To my dear son, the King, my new bed of red velvet, embroidered with ostrich feathers of silver, and heads of leopards of gold, with boughs and leaves issuing out of their mouths." Edward, Earl of March, in 1380, bequeathed to his son and heir, "our large bed of black satin, embroidered with white lions and gold roses, with escutcheons of the arms of Mortimer and Ulster;" and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1397, bequeathed to the altar of St. Paul's cathedral "his great bed of cloth of gold, the champepiers powdered with golden roses, placed upon pipes of gold, and in each pipe two white ostrich feathers;" and again, to his daughter the Duchess of Exeter, his "white bed of silk, with blue eagles displayed." In 1415, Edward, Duke of York, bequeathed to his wife "my bed of feathers and leopards, with the furniture appertaining to the same; also my white and red tapestry of garters, fetter-locks, and falcons."^b

Bequests of articles of dress, being neither so appropriate nor of so much value as beds and furniture, or plate and jewellery, are not frequent in the wills of persons of high rank. In that of Robert, Earl of Suffolk, in 1368, we find mentioned together, "my bed with the eagle, and my summer vestment, powdered with leopards," by which, perhaps, the summer bed-furniture was intended.^c We are not, however, destitute of instances of ornamented dresses, more immediately illustrative of the royal robes before us.

Two ladies, engraved^d in Strutt's *Dresses*, vol. II. plates xcvi. and xcvii. have their robes powdered with swans, with wings erect. They are both copied from a French MS. in the Royal Collection, 15 D III. which is a superbly illuminated copy of the *Histoire Scholastique*, or *Scholastic Bible*.

Ashmole, in his *History of the Order of the Garter*,^e tells us that at

^b Nichols's *Royal and Noble Wills*. Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*.

^c *Ibid*.

^d Also in Shaw's "*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*,"

1840, Part 5.

^e P. 213.

the time of instituting the order, and for a long time after, the vestments were garnished or powdered all over with little garters, embroidered with silk and gold plate, with buckles, and pendants of silver gilt. Of these there were laid upon the first surcoat and hood, made for the royal Founder, no less than 168. In King Richard the Second's reign, the little garters which then adorned the surcoats of the Sovereign and Knights Companions, were wrought in embroidery upon blue taffaty, with Cyprus gold, and silk of divers colours, and letters of gold.

This fashion of the robes of the Garter was continued to the reign of Henry the Sixth, when the surcoat and hood of the King took 173, and those of the King of Portugal 120 Garters; but it went out of use shortly after.

A representation of a Knight, attired in this original robe of the Garter, will be seen in Strutt's Dresses, vol. II. pl. cviii. it being the figure of Sir Nigel Loring, one of the first knights of the order, and a benefactor to the Abbey of St. Alban's, commemorated and depicted in a Register of the monastery, now the Cottonian MS. Nero D. vii; and another instance is that of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, presenting the volume now the Royal MS. 15 E VI. to Margaret, Queen of Henry the Sixth, engraved in Strutt's Royal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, pl. xliii., in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, and in Mr. Planché's interesting little volume on British Costume, p. 191.^f In the series of portraitures of the Sovereign and first twenty-five knights, engraved in Ashmole's History of the Order, p. 642, the artist, who was apparently of a century at least after the time, has given them the modern mantles with the badge only on the left shoulder, but he has represented several of their turban-like hoods as sprinkled with garters, though not all, his aim evidently being to make as much variety as could be allowed in their head-attires.

The preceding remarks have been made in illustration of the fashion of forming an heraldic badge or charge into the running pattern of state robes, a practice which we have already found described by the contemporary term "powdering." The same term, or *poudré*, was formerly used by the

^f Still more perfectly, since this Paper was written, in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages."

heralds in blazonry, in cases where they now employ the terms *semée*, or sown, and *mis par tout*.

I will now proceed to notice in succession the several devices with which the robes of the Effigies before us are adorned. The robes of the King are powdered or strewn with three badges, the White Hart, the Broom Plant, and the Rising Sun. Among them are intermixed the letters *r* and *a*, the initials of Richard and Anne. The borders of the robes are ornamented with elegant patterns minutely delineated, the principal being a running scroll of the Broom-plant; at the foot are two rows of ermine spots, and the hood is also lined with ermine, but the inner sides of the mantle are plain. The badges on the mantle are interwoven with running lines of flowers or small leaves, in a manner so nearly resembling a curious painting of Richard the Second which is now preserved in the Earl of Pembroke's collection at Wilton, that, before I proceed further, I shall take some notice of that picture.

It is painted on two tablets, and Hollar engraved it in two plates in the year 1639; but the two when viewed together form but one design. The King is kneeling in prayer to the Virgin and her Son; behind him stand the three saints, John the Baptist, Edward the Confessor, and Edmund the King. Behind and around the Virgin are eleven angels. King Richard is here attired in a gown powdered with White Harts, which are interlaced with Broom-cods running in the same manner as the interlacing foliage on the mantle of his Effigy. He wears round his neck a collar of Broom-cods; and on his left shoulder is his badge of the White Hart. But what is more extraordinary is, that each of the eleven angels wears a similar collar and a similar badge. It must be remarked that the pendant to the collar in front, in every case, is formed of two of the Broom-cods only; and that the King, as well as the angels, wears the White Hart, as a badge, on his shoulder, not as a pendant to the collar, as was misapprehended by Anstis.⁸ It was this picture which furnished a subject of discussion to Walpole in connexion

⁸ Register of the Order of the Garter, vol. i. p. 112; and also in p. 110. Anstis was here writing of collars, and he did not sufficiently bear in mind that the badge, *stigma*, mark, sign, or cognizance was another thing. He followed the verses under Hollar's print, in which it is erroneously said, "*Pendulus est albus cervus*," &c. Anstis, in turn, is followed by Mr. Beltz, who states that the White Hart was "pendent from a collar," in his Notices of Collars of the King's Livery, Retrospective Review, new series, vol. ii. p. 501.

with the alleged discovery of oil-painting by Van Eyck ;^b but it was proved to be painted in water-colours, on an examination by T. Phillips, Esq. R.A. as is noticed in Britton's *Beauties of Wiltshire*. It formerly belonged to the Royal Collection, but is said to have been given away by King James the Second to Lord Castlemaine, about the time he went Ambassador to Rome, after whose death it was purchased by the Earl of Pembroke, and added to the Collection at Wilton.

THE BADGE OF THE WHITE HART was the most favourite device of King Richard, and it was that which he used for the cognizance which was profusely distributed among his courtiers and immediate dependants. It has been suggested with much apparent probability that he adopted it from the White Hind which is stated to have been borne by his mother the Fair Maid of Kentⁱ, and which was certainly used by the Holands, the sons of her first marriage.^k The author of the Alliterative Poem, which has been edited by Mr. Wright for the Camden Society, reproaching the unfortunate Richard, reminds him that

First at your anointing all were your own,
Both Harts and Hinds, and held of none other.

The writer of the *Life of Richard*, edited by Hearne, states that the badge of the White Hart was first given at the time of the Tournament held in Smithfield in 1396 for the entertainment of the Count of St. Pol and the Count of Ostrevandt :—

^b In reference to this subject, see a paper by the present writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1840, vol. xiv. p. 489, relative to a picture in the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, which was assigned by Walpole to Van Eyck, and supposed to represent the family of Lord de Clifford, but regarding which, Mr. Waagen has pronounced that "Jan Van Eyck is quite out of the question," and which is shown (*ubi supra*) to be the portraits of Sir John Donne and his wife Elizabeth, sister to Lord Hastings, temp. Edw. IV. They wear the collar of that King's livery, formed of alternate roses and suns, with a white lion sejant as a pendant.

ⁱ "The bagens that he [the King] beareth by the Faire Maide of Kent, is a Whyte Hynde." *Collectanea Top. et Geneal.* vol. iii. p. 55, from MS. Harl. 4632, written in the time of Henry VIII.; but the same MS. attributes the White Hind to Queen Philippa (*Ibid.* p. 53.), and so does the MS. L. 14, in *Coll. Arm.* f. 27, b.

^k In Sandford's *Genealogical History*, 1677, p. 124, will be seen the seal of Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent, where his shield is suspended from the neck of a *Hind*, lodged or seated, and collared with a coronet.

"Ubi datum erat primo signum vel stigma illud egregium cum Cervo Albo, cum corona et cathena aurea."

But it is less probable that the White Hart was first given¹ on that occasion, than that it was then brought into conspicuous notice by being displayed upon all the housings and accoutrements of the English knights who took part in the tournament, as the accounts given by Walsingham and in the Polychronicon state that it was. Indeed, as Anstis has pointed out (though with a wrong date, as it belongs to Richard's sixth^m and not his ninth year), there is a document in Rymer some years earlier in date, which enumerates various crown jewels pawned to the Corporation of London, among which occur three brooches in the form of White Harts, set with rubies. It should, however, be added that in this document the White Hart does not come prominently forward, for there were more brooches of other patterns; as, of twenty-three in the whole, four were worked with a Griffon in the middle, five were in the form of White Dogs, one great one with four Blue Boars, four in the form of Eagles, three in the form of White Harts, and six in the form of Keys. Still there is ample evidence that the White Hart was made very conspicuous on occasion of the Tournament already mentioned, and it is remarkable that a passage has been found² in the household-book of Richard's great adversary the Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry the Fourth) for that very year, recording the expenditure of 40s. for the embroidering of two sleeves of red velvet and a pair of plates of the same suit, with the *Harts*

¹ The devise of "*le Cerf volant, couronné d'or au col*," had been adopted ten years before, viz. in 1380, by Charles VI. of France, according to his historian, Juvenal des Ursins; who connects it with a legendary story of the collar having been placed upon the Hart in its youth by Julius Cæsar; which legend is also related by Upton and by him located in Windsor Forest, at the stone called Besaunteston near Bagshot. (Nic. Upton de Studio Militari, 1654, p. 159.) The same legendary beast was adopted as a supporter by the family of Pompei in Italy in token of their allegiance to the Emperor, with the initials N. M. T. alluding to the inscription on the collar of the original Hart, NEMO ME TANGAT, CÆSARIS SVM. (Anstis, Register of the Garter, i. 113, from Menestrier, Ornem. des Armes, p. 118.) Froissart ascribes the origin of the *flying* hart of Charles VI. to a dream of the king, the story of which occupies his civth chapter. It was represented *winged*, as it appears in the engraved title of the Compendium Roberti Gaguini super Francorum Gestis. Paris, fol. 1504.

² See Rymer's *Fœdera*, edit. 1740, vol. III. part iii. p. 140.

³ Anstis, i. 14.

of the *King's livery*. And it is very probable that it was about that time that Richard adopted the impolitic system of distributing these favours so extensively as tokens of adherence (they went by the popular name of signs), thereby fomenting divisions, and endeavouring to form a private and personal party in that realm, the whole population of which he ought to have endeavoured to cherish with an impartial and parental regard. This grand political error is forcibly exposed by the poet already referred to. He expresses his ignorance

What kin's counsel that the King had
Or moved him most to *mark* his lieges,
Or to serve them with *signs*, that swarmed so thick
Throughout his land in length and in breadth,
That who so had hobbled thro' holts and towns
Or y-passed the paths there the prince dwelt,
Of *Harts* or *Hinds* on hassels' breasts,
Or some lord's livery that the law stried,
He should have y-met more than enow,
For they incumber'd the country, and many curse served.

* * *

They plucked the plomayle from the poor skins,
And shewed their *signs*, for men should dread
To ask any amends for their misdeeds ;
Thus *liveries* o'erlook'd your lieges each one,
For those that had *Harts* on high on their breasts,
For the more party, I may well avow,
They bare them the bolder for their gay brooches
And bushed * with their breasts, and bare down the poor
Lieges that loved you (the King) the less for their evil deeds ;
So, truth to tell, as townsmen said,
For one that you *marked*, you missed ten score
Of homely *hearts*, that the harme hente ;
Then was it folly, in faith as me thinketh
To set silver in signs, that of nought served.

* * *

And so, in sooth, the season was past
For *Harts* y-headed so high and so noble.

I must not quit this part of the subject without adverting to the varieties of this favourite device of Richard the Second, which have been observed in

* A pun, as presumed, on the name of Sir John Bushy, one of Richard's favourites.

that most noble monument of him, and indeed of his whole race, the great Hall at Westminster. It is well known that the string-course which runs round the Hall is adorned with large sculptured ornaments; which are, generally speaking, the royal crest of a Lion, and the badge of a Hart, placed alternately. The Hart is usually lodged on a single row of *nebulée* (as he once occurs on the effigy before us) with ornamental foliage springing from behind, which foliage is sometimes oak with acorns, sometimes a rose-bush, or it terminates in *fleurs-de-lis*. In one instance the Hart is placed in a four-wheeled cart, as if on his way to the chase; in another he is pulled down by dogs; ° in a third he is lodged, the end of his chain being held up by a "woodhouse" or wild man, who bears a club over his shoulder. Such were the conceits by which our old artists avoided monotony, and sustained the interest of spectators. It has been remarked by Mr. Willement^p that in the whole series especial care has been taken to distinguish the *crest* from the *badge*; the lion invariably being placed upon a helmet. And here it may be added that we are in no case to regard the White Hart as a *supporter* ^q in the modern acceptance of that term. Some old heraldic writer of the 16th century^r has asserted that "King Ric. II. forsoke the two antelops for his beasts, and toke two White Harts bearing up the arms with their backs." Such a design the writer had no doubt seen, and it was one truly accordant with the elegant taste of the artists of the period; but animals so placed cannot be considered as supporters in the modern sense, any more than in another instance at Westminster Hall, where the royal shield is held by demi-angels and the stag is placed below. It was not for some time after that the usage commenced of supporting arms by two beasts, or human figures, placed erect on either side the shield. As for the Antelope which, according to this statement, Richard "forsoke," it was first adopted as a royal beast by King Henry the Fourth.

Before quitting the subject of the White Hart, it should be remarked that I have forborne to quote much that has been previously collected regarding its

° A very curious instance of the Device of the Hart lodged within a paling occurs on a piece of sculpture recently sent from Venice to Henry Howard, esq. of Corby, an Account of which will be found in the present volume of *Archæologia*.

^p *Collectanea Top. et Geneal.* iii. 55.

^q As Anstis does, i. 113.

^r MS. Harl. 2259, quoted by Willement.

use, as well in the reign of Richard the Second and in those of his successors.⁸

THE BROOM PLANT is a well-known cognisance, alluding, according to common opinion, to the supposed surname of our ancient Kings. I say the supposed surname, for I am not aware that any satisfactory answer has been given to the remark made on that subject by Anstis, in his Introduction to the Register of the Order of the Garter; where, alluding to the verses placed under Hollar's engravings of the Wilton picture, already described, he terms it the "sobriquet" of Plantagenet, not allowing it to have been the surname of our Kings; who, he says, "like those of France, and other ancient monarchs, had no peculiar name; and even Richard the Second was, before his accession to the throne, and after his abdication, styled of Bourdeaux, the place of his nativity, which was the most customary method of denominating the children of the Crown. I shall," he adds, "postpone the proofs of this matter, 'till I consider the case of Arthur Plantagenet, Knight of the Order."⁹ To the portion of his work here alluded to, the author never arrived, and we are, therefore, deprived of his proofs.¹⁰ It may be presumed that he would have endeavoured to show that Plantagenet was a

⁸ See particularly in the notes to Anstis, p. 113, *et seq.* several curious extracts from records relative to the making and presenting of the cognisance to various persons both at home and abroad; and Willement's Regal Heraldry, p. 20. In the third volume of the Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer (published by the Record Commission, 1836), among the Jewels, Plate, &c. in the hands of the Crown in the 1st Hen. IV. formerly belonging to King Richard, &c. will be found at p. 356, "un Cerf couchant southe un arbre, les cornes et l'arbre appairaillez de xxvij perles, poisant vii unc." A golden reindeer was of the same weight, ornamented with a sapphire and pearls. Before, at p. 328, is a cup (*hanape*), the cover of which was of silver gilt, with pinnacles and turrets, and surrounded by White Harts and other beasts, lying on a green stage; and at p. 350, a large spice plate, *curiosement arraeiz*, having a cover bearing a Hart, richly adorned with stones and pearls, and its foot garnished with leopards and damsels. This was made at Paris by Assyn de Bellon.

⁹ Anstis, i. 115.

¹⁰ On this point Camden had previously left his opinion, expressed with remarkable earnestness and decision: when speaking of "Cognomina, or Sobriquetts, as the French call them, and By-names, or Nick-names, as we term them (if that word be indifferent to good and bad) which still *did die with the bearer, and never descended to posterity* So, in the

name upon which a sober existence was first conferred on the birth of Arthur, the bastard of Edward the Fourth, afterwards Viscount Lisle, in the same way as that of Longespé (previously a soubriquet of his ancestors^a) was given to a son of Henry the Second, and became the hereditary name of his descendants.

That Plantagenet was the cognomen of the father of King Henry the Second, Geoffrey Count of Anjou, who is also sometimes called Pulcher, or le Bel, there is ample testimony in the Chroniclers. He is called by both names by Gervase of Tilbury,⁷ who was nearly a contemporary; and he is termed Plantagenest in the Chronicle of Geoffrey, monk of St. Martial at Limoge, and Prior of Vigemois,² who wrote in 1183; in the *Chronicon Turonense*,³ compiled early in the thirteenth century; and in the *Opusc. de Origine Comitum Andegav.* throughout.^b But the same authorities do not ascribe the name of Plantagenet to King Henry;^c on the contrary, he is

house of Anjou, which obtained the crown of England, Geoffrey the first Earl of Anjou was surnamed Grisogone, that is Gray-cloake; Fulco, his son, Nerra; his grandchild Rechin, for his extortion. Again his grandchild *Plantagenet*, for that he wore commonly a broome-stalke in his bonnet. . . . So that, whereas these names were never taken up by the sons, I know not why any should think *Plantagenet* to be the surname of the Royall House of England, albeit in late years many have so accounted it. Neither is it less strange, why so many should thinke *Theodore*, or *Tydur*, as they contract it, to be the surname of the Princes of this Realme since King Henry the Seventh; for, &c. . . . To seek therefore the ancient surnames of the Royall and most ancient families of Europe, is to seek that which never was." Camden's Remaines, chapter on Surnames.

^a It is given to William Duke of Normandy, who died in 948; to a son of King Stephen, and a son of the Empress Maud. It is further remarkable that all of these were named William.

⁷ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, vol. xiv. p. 14.

² *Ibid.* xii. 432, 438. The latter passage is as follows: *Gaufredus cognomento Plantagenest, de Mathilde genuit Henricum regem, Guillelmum cognomento la Maspa, et Gaufredum.*"

³ *Ibid.* pp. 471, 474; at the former of which pages the same parties are described as "*Henricum qui postea fuit rex Angliæ, et Guillelmum Longam-Spatam, et Gaufridum Plantagenest.*"

^b *Ibid.* p. 534 et seq.

^c This error (if such it be) runs through the best modern historians. Lord Lyttelton and Henry both commence with the words Henry Plantagenet; and Rapin prefixes to the reign the title, "Henry II. Surnam'd Plantagenet." Though not adopted by Hume, nor by Mr. Sharon Turner, it is by Dr. Lingard. It was not, however, committed by

stated to have had the surname of Curtmantel,^d and his brother Geoffrey, Count of Nantes, the name of Martel.^e

What authority there is for Camden's assertion, that Geoffrey, the father, was called "*Plantagenet*, for that he wore commonly a broome-stalke in his bonnet," does not appear; but there is no question that Sandford was quite mistaken when he stated^f that, on the great seal of Richard I. ϵ "his helmet is adorned with the *Planta Genista*, or Broom-stalk." This has been entirely disproved, on the inspection of better impressions,^h and the object which led to the supposition proves to be a crest formed of straight rods of iron, or some other material.

Holinshed, or Speed, or Stowe, or Sir Richard Baker; and in Milles's Catalogue of Honour, fol. 1610, and Ralph Brooke's Catalogue of the Kings, &c. fol. 1619, he is more correctly "sur-named *Short-mantle*." Sandford falls into it throughout, but not so Dugdale, unless by occasional inadvertence, and the Dukes of York are even indexed under the name of Coningsburgh. It may here be remarked, that the natural brother of King Henry, the progenitor of the second race of the Earls Warren, is also generally called Hameline Plantagenet, but equally without sufficient authority; as Watson, in his Memoirs of the Earls of Warren, quotes no contemporary document concerning him in which he is styled otherwise than Hameline Earl of Warren. With the like want of authority some authors (following Godwin) have given the name of Plantagenet to Geoffrey bastard son of Henry II. bishop elect of Lincoln and afterwards archbishop of York.

^d Bromton, after recording the death of Henry II. states that his body was so deserted and robbed during the confusion and license that usually took place on such occasions, "ut diu nudum jaceret, donec puer quidam inferiores corporis partes pallio brevi contegeret. Et tunc videbatur *cognomen ejus* adimpletum, quo ab infantia vocabatur Henricus Curtmantell, nam iste primus omnium curta mantella ab Andegavia in Angliam transvexit." The same statements are repeated by Knyghton. (Twysden, Decem Scriptores, cols. 1150, 2400.)

^e This name affords another instance of the same Christian name being repeatedly connected with the same cognomen or soubriquet. The father of Fulke IV. (Rechin) Count of Anjou, and his son, the uncle of Geoffrey Plantagenest, were both Geoffrey Martel.

^f Genealogical History, 1677, p. 73.

^g The cognomen of Richard the First, Cœur de Lion, is better known than almost any of these distinctions. But perhaps it was not applied to him until after his death.

^h The seal in question is not that engraved in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, where the helmet is perfectly plain; but Richard's *second* seal. The crest is very remarkable, being a lion or leopard, encircled by a radius of lines as mentioned in the text. "Quant à moi, j'y verrois tout au plus des brins de baleine, si ce n'est même des piquants de fer, attendu la roideur et l'arrangement symétrique de ce singulier ornement." Dissertation sur les Sceaux de Richard-Cœur-de-Lion, par Achille Deville. 4to, 1828, p. 16.

It must be admitted, however, that the time at length arrived when Plantagenet was adopted as a surname by the royal family of England; but this was not until the days of the house of York, the last branch of the race. It re-appears on the page of contemporary evidence in the pedigree which Richard Duke of York laid before the Parliament, when claiming the inheritance of the Crown, on the 16th Oct. 1460; but it is there applied to that prince only, and not to his ancestors, who are each named after their birth-place.¹ In one other instance only it has been discovered during the reign of Edward the Fourth²; with the exception of its use, as applied to that monarch's illegitimate son, the Viscount Lisle, already alluded to. It may be remarked, that Arthur Plantagenet had a crest assigned to him allusive to his surname; namely, A *genet*^k party per pale sable and argent, betwixt two *broom-stalks* blossomed proper.¹

¹ Thus—"Edward his first begoten son Prince of Wales, William Hatfeld second begoten, Leonell [it is not added "of Antwerp,"] third begoten Duc of Clarence, John of Gaunte fourthe begoten Duc of Lancastre, Edmond Langley fyft goten Duc of York, Thomas Wodestok sixt goten Duc of Gloucestre, and William Wyndesore the seventh goten;" then, after tracing the family of Mortimer,—“the seid Anne, under the sacrament of matrimony copled unto Richard Erle of Cambrigge, the son of the seid Edmond Langley, had issue and lefully bare Richard *Plantagenet* commonly called Duc of York.” The name Richard Plantagenet, sometimes with the title of Duke of York, and sometimes without, is frequently repeated in subsequent parts of the same document. See Rot. Parl. vol. v. pp. 375, 377, 378. It may be remarked that *no other* surname is elsewhere assigned to the Duke of York, nor does the place of his birth appear to be recorded; whilst his father was called Richard of Coningsburgh: in the proceedings relative to his attainder he is styled “Ricardus Comes Cantebrigg’ de Conesburgh in com’ Ebor’ Chivaler;” see Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 64.

² This is with reference to the creation of Edward Earl of Salisbury, the son of Richard Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III.), who is called “our dear nephew, Edward *Plantagenet*.”—Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. IV. p. 2, m. 16, printed in Appendix V. to the Peerage Reports, p. 413.

^k This *genet* (which was introduced as alluding, or heraldically *canting*, on the name,) is described by Favyn as an animal nearly resembling the polecat, and approaching in size to the cats of Spain. It will be seen represented in his work, p. 514, where he gives an account of an Order of the Genette, said to have been founded by Charles Martel in the year 726.

¹ So blazoned by Sandford. The garter-plate of Arthur Viscount Lisle remains at Windsor, where the genet stands on a chapeau marked with a great X in the front, and the broom-plants rise behind.

There is, therefore, some reason to conclude, that the name of Plantagenet owes its *revival* to the house of York; ^m by which its use, as expressive of hereditary claims, may be supposed to have been felt, with a force not before conceived. At all events, we are destitute at present of any proof that Richard the Second conceived his surname to be Plantagenet, or that he adopted the *broom-cod* for one of his badges, with reference to that name.

The Broom-plant had been for centuries a favourite emblem in France, and we have positive proof that it formed the collar of the royal livery given by Charles V. and Charles VI. An order of this name is stated by Favyn ⁿ to have been founded so early as 1234 by Saint Louis, on the coronation of his Queen Margaret of Provence, with the motto *Exaltat humiles*, the Founder accounting it emblematic of humility; and Favyn quotes, from the Life of that monarch, written by Guillaume de Nangis, an account of the creation of *milites Genestellæ* in the year 1267. A century later, Charles V. of France granted to Geoffrey de Belleville his Chambellan, in 1368, to wear the *collier de la cosse de geneste* in all feasts and companies.^o In 1389 Charles VI. made his kinsmen the King of Sicily and the Prince of Tarentum knights of the Star and of the Cosse de Geneste; and it is very remarkable that, in 1393, he sent the collars of Broom-cods to Richard II. and his uncles. His goldsmith, John Compere, was ordered to make for the King of England a collar in this form, to be of two twisted stalks, interlaced with *cosses de geneste*, alternated with fifty letters hanging to the stalks, which formed the word JAMES (*jamais*) ten times repeated; the broom-cods were to be enamelled alternately green and white, and thickly set with pearls. Three other like collars, the pearls only being of somewhat less value, were made for the Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of York; the

^m It may be noticed, in further proof of the more correct ideas formerly prevailing on this subject, that Sam. Daniel, in his long poem on the Civil War, never introduces the high-sounding name of Plantagenet,—except in a note, where he states correctly that Richard Earl of Cambridge “had issue by Anne, Richard (*surnamed Plantagenet*) after Duke of York.” And so Shakspeare in the Third Part of King Henry VI. though he uses the name continually, still confines it *personally* to “Plantagenet, Duke of York.”

ⁿ Le Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie, ou Histoire des Ordres Militaires. Par André Favyn. 4to. Paris, 1620, p. 583.

^o Ibid. p. 586.

whole cost more than 830 francs.^p It will, however, be perceived that the design of this collar does not correspond with that so often repeated in the Wilton pictures (as already mentioned in p. 36); and therefore the French and English collars, though similar, were not identical. Three French collars were remaining among the crown jewels, after the accession of Henry IV. and we find them then particularly described as of the livery of the King of France.^q Two collars of broom-cods occur in the inventory of Henry the

^p The following is the description at length of the collar to be made for King Richard : "l'un partit au Collier du Roy, pour le Roy d'Angleterre, cest a scavoir iceluy Collier fait en facon de deux gros tuyaux ronds, et entre iceux tuyaux *Cosse de Geneste* double entretenans par les queues, et autour d'icellui sur les cosses fait neuf potences, autour chacune de neuf grosses perles, et l'entre deux d'icelles potences autour du dit Collier a cinquante lettres d'or pendant a l'un d'iceux tuyaux, qui font par dix fois le mot du Roy, JAMES, et au devant d'icelui Collier, à un gros balay quarré, environné de huit grosses perles, pereilles aux perles du Collier du Roy, et au deniere a deux cosses en forme de genestes, ouvertes, emailées, l'un de blanche, l'autre de vert, et a dedans chacune l'icelles cosses trois grosses perles, et les dits tuyaux poinsonnez de branches, fleurs, et cosses de geneste." (Quoted by Anstis from Hist. des Ordres Religieux, viii. 278.) This description agrees with the collar worn by a herald standing by the side of Charles VI. in a picture seen by Menestrier at Ingolstadt, and described by him in his Art de Blason, Lyon 1671, 12mo. p. 97; but it is wholly different from the collar given for the order de la Cosse de Geneste, by Favyn, and of course by his English copyists, Ashmole, Hugh Clark, &c. Their collar is composed of fleurs-de-lis in lozenges, and broom-flowers alternately, and Ashmole, in fact, calls it the order of the Broom-flower; but *cosse* is the same with the modern orthography *gousse*, and signifies *cod*. It may be remarked that a large majority of the collars represented for those of the ancient chivalric orders, are equally valueless, being designed from the draughtsman's own notions (as historical portraits used to be), not derived from any contemporary authority.

At Poissi was still preserved in the time of Menestrier, a pall semé of broom, with the motto *James*: "A Poissi on conserve encore dans le Monastere des Religieuses de l'Ordre de S. Dominique un Poële à mettre sur le tombeau de Madame Marie de France sœur du Roy, qui est semé de *plantes de genest*, avec ce mot en lettres Gothiques *James*." La Devise du Roy Justifiée, 4to. 1679, p. 75.

^q "—j. coler d'or du livre du Roi de Franceye ove i. bone baleys quarré perentre bones perles rondes ove vi. autres bones perles einz deux *cos de jenestres*, pois' xiii. unc. i. quart.—Un colare del livre du Roi de Fraunce, cont' ix. overages de *genestes* garnisez de iiij. baleys, iii. saphirs, xxvi. perles, poisant vi unc. et di.—Item, un coler d'or de mesme la livre plein, pois' ii. unc. et di." Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer, iii. 354, 357.

Fifth's jewels, made after his death;^r and Henry VI. in the fourth year of his reign ordered a collar to be made for himself, of the letter S and broom-cods combined. Robes worked *cum ramis de Brome* are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of the latter.^t

THE RISING SUN, the third badge delineated on the King's robe, is stated by old authorities to have been one of the badges of Edward the Third;^u whilst elsewhere we are told that the Black Prince adopted a Sun rising from the clouds;^v and it certainly seems a device very expressive of the condition of an heir apparent. Ashmole quotes from the Wardrobe Roll of the 21st Edw. III. a charge for "forty of these clouds, embroidered with gold, silver, and silk, having in the middle the Saxon letter E of gold, provided to trim several garments made for the King, and garnished with stars." This was in the year after the battle of Crecy, and it was a pleasing hypothesis to entertain that the King wore his son's badge to do him honour; but it will be perceived that the description of this badge, namely, clouds garnished, that is, probably, powdered or sprinkled with stars, does not entirely agree with the badge before us, of a sun or rays of light rising from clouds. Richard the Second is stated by some of the authorities before quoted, to have adopted the whole sun, or sun in splendour,^w and such a sun is displayed upon the main sail of the vessel, in which he is represented returning from Ireland, in the 7th Illumination accompanying the French poem, edited by Mr. Webb, in the XXth volume of the *Archæologia*. How-

^r Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. pp. 220. 225.

^t See the quotations in Anstis, vol. i. p. 116.

^u In the curious vellum folio of heraldry, prepared for the use of Arthur Prince of Wales, and now the MS. Vincent 152 in the College of Arms, at f. 51, is a banner ascribed to Edward III., Party per pale, the dexter side Azure, semé of fleurs-de-lis, and in the centre this badge of golden rays rising from clouds; the sinister Gules, an ostrich feather argent, crowned or, fixed in a scroll inscribed *Dieu et mon droit*.

^v Mr. Webb, in *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 106.

^w In Prince Arthur's book, the same page as above, King Richard's banner is Party of the two cognizances, the Sun in splendour and the White Hart. Among his plate was a basin adorned at the bottom with a sun, and the arms of the King and Queen; and a cup, with a cover engraved "en manere de la solaille." *Inv. of the Exchequer*, iii. 322, 327.

ever, it is clear from the statue before us, that at the time when Richard erected this monument in Westminster Abbey, the rising sun was accounted one of his customary badges.* It appears, with three others, the crowned rose, the crowned fleur-de-lis, and the crowned rose-in-sun, on the orfreys or embroidered front of the habit of the Prelate of the Garter, engraved in Ashmole's History of that Order, p. 234. This is one of a set of figures designed in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

It is now high time to turn to the devices found upon THE EFFIGY OF QUEEN ANNE. Her coat or boddice is covered with a flowered pattern, intermixed with the letters **t** and **a** crowned. On her gown are the same letters linked together, and also crowned; but the largest figures are alternations of a peculiarly formed knot, of which no other example has been found, and the badge of the Ostrich, collared and chained, and holding in its beak a nail. About both the two last are small sprigs or leaves, which there is reason to suppose are those of the linden or lime, which was used by the house of Bohemia. The same leaves are added to the White Harts on the King's robe; they form the running border of the Queen's mantle, and they are sprinkled over the latter, together with crowned **A**'s and **R**'s, which differ from the letters before mentioned, in being capitals, and of a much larger size.

The only English authority, recording this BADGE OF THE OSTRICH, that occurred to Mr. Willement during his researches in Regal Heraldry, was a passage in Camden's Remaines, which was evidently derived immediately from the effigies before us, and which shall now be quoted. "Richard the Second used commonly a White Hart couchant, with a crown and chain about his neck. For wearing the which some, after his deposition, lost their lives. He also used a pescod branch, with the cods open, but the pease out,

* Here, again, he appears to have followed the example of the contemporary French monarch, for it is stated that this same badge was taken by Charles VI. on his marriage with Isabel of Bavaria, in 1385.—Willement, p. 18, quoting MS. Cotton, Nero, D. ii. f. 483 b; and Menestrier, Devise du Roy justifiée, p. 75: "Charles VII. fit la Devise d'un ray de Soleil, comme son pere, qui l'a prit en son mariage avec Isabeau de Baviere, comme Froissart a remarqué, et il y ajouta un S. Michel, comme on void en de vieilles Tapiasseries de ce temps-là."

as it is upon his robe in his monument at Westminster. His wife Anne, sister to Wincellaus the Emperour, bare an Ostrich, with a nayle in his beake." No representation of the Bohemian Ostrich was found in this country by Mr. Willement, and it is highly probable that Camden's authority for it was no other than the Queen's effigy.^y It is noticed by Mr. Willement, on the authority of Thiel, that "a white ostrich, issuing from a crown, and holding in its beak a horse-shoe, is the proper crest of the Kingdom of Hungary." This is merely observable as a parallel device; and it may be added, that an ostrich, holding a horseshoe in her beak, is the armorial coat of Mac Mahon, of Ireland, that it was one of the supporters of the Pastons, Earls of Yarmouth, and that it occurs in the crests of Coke, Digby, Wallace, and some other English families. The family of Lindsey has for crest an ostrich holding a key in its beak, and that of Proby the head and neck of an ostrich, also holding a key.

The Bohemian Ostrich, instead of rising from a crown, stands erect, collared and chained, and the article in his beak is a nail. The nail, key, and horseshoe were alike suggested by the fabulous powers of digestion which were formerly attributed to this bird, and which were considered emblematic of the appetite of a valiant warrior for the cold iron of the battle field. A foreign writer, speaking of the battle of Poitiers, where he is supposed to have been present, says, that there many a hero, *like the ostrich*, was obliged to digest both iron and steel, or to overcome in death the sensations inflicted by the spear and the arrow. It has further been remarked (by Mr. Planché, in his History of British Costume,) that the German name for an ostrich, *Strauss*, was used also in the sense of "a fight, combat, or scuffle;" and in these double significations, there would be sufficient reason for the *strauss vogel* being adopted as the emblem of a warrior.

I am here induced to advance a conjecture, I believe not before proposed, respecting the origin of an heraldic emblem, still popular among us, and which was originally a badge, though most people, having the authority of

^y The Ostrich is drawn in the same manner, as the badge of Queen Anne, in a MS. of about Camden's time, L. 14. Coll. Arm. f. 27 b.

Hume and other popular writers,^a now erroneously regard it as a crest—I mean the PRINCE OF WALES'S FEATHERS.

It will not be necessary for me to enter into the subject at much length, as I find that nearly all that could be ascertained respecting it is very well discussed by Mr. Planché, in the work to which I have just alluded. I will therefore only very briefly state, first, that plumes of feathers were not worn until the reign of Henry the Fifth, and then as portions of costume, not as personal crests; and secondly, that the crest of John King of Bohemia is shown from his seals,^a and those of his son Wincseslaus, not to have been three ostrich feathers, but the entire wings of a vulture. A Flemish poem quoted by Baron Reiffenberg, in his recent edition of Barante's History of the Dukes of Burgundy, describes the crest of John King of Bohemia as "two wings of a vulture, besprinkled with linden leaves of gold:"

"Twee ghiers vlogelen daer aen geleyt
Die al vol bespringelt zyn
Met linden bladeren guld fyn;
Deze es, als ick mercken can,
Van Behem coninck Jan."

The Black Prince, therefore, could not have plucked ostrich feathers from a vulture's wing; and that the Black Prince's feather, a single feather only, was really that of an ostrich, we have repeated contemporary testimonies, some of which have been already quoted^b from his own will; but the hypothesis I have to offer is this: that the Bohemian King, who was a relation of Queen Anne, no more distant than her paternal grandfather, may very probably have used the badge of an ostrich, as well as his son, the

^a "His crest of three ostrich feathers, and his motto, *Ich dien* (*I serve*), were adopted by the Prince of Wales, and are still those used by the Heir Apparent of England."—Keightley, *Hist. of England*, i. 217. And such is the ordinary statement.

^a See engravings in *La Genealogie des Comtes de Flandre*, par Olivier de Vrée, fol. 1642, pp. 63—67.

^b Before, p. 34.

Emperor Charles, the Queen's father; and that the English prince, upon his victory over this monarch, who from such a badge would be called the Ostrich, possibly adopted the conceit that the feathers of the conquered bird formed an emblematical trophy very significant of his success. Such a conjecture may be the more acceptable from accommodating itself with the received tradition respecting the field of Crecy, and may therefore be adopted, unless it should appear that the feather (which we also find borne by the brothers of the Black Prince),^c was used by our English princes before that event, which I confess I think not improbable.

A very remarkable fact may here be noticed, which has been disclosed by the recent publication of the Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, from which several quotations have been already made. It is that Queen Anne of Bohemia affords an instance of a Queen Consort giving a collar of her livery, and it appears to have been formed of branches of Rosemary, with an Ostrich dependant.^d A cup of the kind called Gryppeshey also occurs, ornamented with two white Ostriches.^e

We may take leave of the Queen's costume by noticing a description preserved of the dress prepared for Richard's second Queen, before the feast of Christmas, in his twenty-second year. The wardrobe keeper then accounted for the embroidery of two long gowns, with large sleeves, one of

^c It occurs on the seal of one of them,—Thomas Duke of Gloucester. Much information on the subject of the Ostrich feather, which was a favourite badge with many junior branches of the royal house, will be found in Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 45—49; see also *Collectanea Topog. et Geneal.* vol. iii. p. 58.

^d Two collars (or rather one and pieces of another) are described, as follows:—"Item, i. coler de la livere la Roigne, que Deux assoille, ove un Ostriche, vii. grosses perles et xxxv. autres plus petits perles, pois' vii. unc. Item, ix. overages d'or d'un coler du livere de la Roigne Anne, de braunches de rose maryn, garnisez de perles, sanz peres, pois' vi. unc. iii. quart'." (P. 357). I conclude that there was but one pattern of collar; that it was formed of branches of Rosemary, and that the pendant was an Ostrich, which in the second instance was deficient.

^e "Item, i. autre hanape appelle *Gryppeshey*, le hanape et le coverecle d'un sort, ove deux peez d'argent ennorez et en les founcez dedeins le ditz hanape et coverecle steiantz deux Ostriches blanks, steant sur au vert terage, coronez, et sur le sommet les armes du Roy, pois' v. lb. iiii. unc'." Ibid. p. 331.

sanguine cloth in grain, and the other of white, worked in embroidery with branches of *Rosemary* and *Broom*, of Cyprus gold and silk.^f

There remains to be noticed the Copper Table upon which the Effigies are laid; but as of this Mr. Hollis has hitherto cleaned a very small portion (which is represented in his drawing above the right shoulder of the King), we at present know more about it from the contract for the erection of the monument than from ocular observation.

The indentures, covenanting for the erection of the Monument of Richard the Second, are preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and will be found also in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, and in Neale and Brayley's *History of Westminster Abbey*.^g They are the more valuable from being our only documents of the kind, with the exception of those for erecting the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick, and the beautiful monument of its founder. The contract for the mason's work is dated the 1st April 18th Richard II. 1395, and that for the copper work, the 24th of the same month. We thus learn, beyond the range of conjecture, how it was that the unfortunate Richard had so magnificent a tomb. His affection for his beloved wife, who died in 1394, prompted him to erect it himself,^h and to place his own figure joined hand-in-hand with hers. The parties employed for the work in metal, to whose skill and taste, or that of the artists they employed, we are indebted for the beautiful productions before us, were Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmythes of London; who covenanted to make two images of copper and laton gilt, crowned, and joining their right hands together, holding sceptres in their left hands, and a ball with a cross between the images. The feet of the King were to rest on two lions; those of the

^f Anstis, i. 115, from Comp. Joh. Macclesfield, Custodis Magnæ Garderob. anno 22 Rich. II.

^g A memorandum of the delivery of these indentures into the receipt of the Exchequer on the 18th Aug. after their execution, has been printed in the *Kalendars, &c.* of the Exchequer, vol. ii. p. 50. See also in Devon's *Extracts from the Issue Rolls*, 1837, pp. 258, 264, 284, various payments to the masons engaged on the tomb, and at p. 262 a payment for painting the canopy.

^h It was formerly stated that it was erected by Henry the Fifth, when Richard's body was removed to Westminster Abbey by that high-spirited prince.

Queen on an eagle and leopard; all of which animals, together with a great portion of the tabernacle work above the heads of the effigies, are now lost. The coppersmiths were also to make a table of the like metal gilt, on which the images should be laid; which table, it is added, "shall be made with a fret of fleurs-de-lis, lions, eagles, and leopards." It is remarkable, that this fretwork should be mentioned, but nothing said of the devices upon the effigies. The four devices of the fretwork were to be emblematical of the ancestral honours of both the King and Queen; the fleurs-de-lis for France, the lions for Bohemia, the eagles for the Empire,ⁱ and the leopards for England. They seem to have been disposed in perpendicular lozenges of each variety; and the portion of the fret Mr. Hollis has hitherto uncovered exhibits only eagles and lions.^j

ⁱ On the Queen's seal (engraved in Sandford's Genealogical History) her arms are quarterly, a spread eagle, and a double-tailed lion, crowned. On the tomb of Archbishop Simon de Langham at Westminster, the arms of Richard and his Queen are found impaled; the Spread Eagle is here single-headed. On the brass of Sir Simon Felbrigge, at Felbrigge, who married a kinswoman and maid of honour of Queen Anne, the Eagle is double-headed. The Hart lodged occurs as an ornament of this memorial. Cotman's Norfolk Brasses, XV.

^j On turning over the plates of Stothard's Monumental Effigies, other instances of armorial charges, borne fretwise, will be seen in the four following instances (all in Westminster Abbey):

1269. Aveline, Countess of Lancaster: her upper pillow the three leopards of England and the lion rampant of Rivers alternately; on her lower pillow the cross-vaire of Albemarle.

1272. King Henry III. on his boots and his pillow, a single leopard (in each lozenge).

1296. Edmund, Earl of Lancaster; on his surcoat a spread-eagle, and an ornamental flower alternately; his pillow like the Countess Aveline's.

1304. William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. This example resembles most nearly that of King Richard: the bed below his effigy being formed of plates, enamelled fretwise with the arms of England and Valence.

About 1360. The whole of the gown, and both pillows, of the lady of Sir Roger de Bois, at Ingham, in Norfolk, appear to have been ornamented in this way, though imperfectly represented in the plate, which is one of those engraved after Stothard's death.

To these may be added the following continental examples, mentioned to me by Mr. Way:

1353. Agnez, wife of Jean sire de Honecourt; at Orcamp Abbey.

1396. Marie de Chastillon, wife of Simon count of Roucy; at S. Yved de Braine. The

I shall now request attention to the *mode* in which these devices and patterns are impressed, both upon the effigies and on the table. It is entirely by fine punctures, without any engraved lines. My friend, Mr. Albert Way, Fellow of the Society (than whom I could consult no one better informed in sepulchral antiquities), informs me that he knows of only one other instance^k in England of monumental figures being thus ornamented. That instance is furnished by the brass plates of Thomas Earl of Warwick, and his Countess, in St. Mary's church, Warwick, which are now erected on a mural tablet, but which formerly, until the fire which destroyed that church at the commencement of the last century, were placed within a canopied monument represented in Dugdale's Warwickshire. On these plates, which were probably executed in less than ten years after the effigies of King Richard and Queen Anne (for the earl died in 1401), the Beauchamp cognizances, the ragged staff and the bear, are pricked in this manner, together with a diapered pattern on those parts of the armorial bearings which were intended to be gold. This circumstance was overlooked by Mr. Gough and his artist. Mr. Way showed me a very beautiful drawing, taken by himself, of an effigy of brass or latten, on the side of the chancel at Baden-Baden, representing Frederic de Baden, Bishop of Utrecht, who died so late as the year 1517; the princely prelate is represented vested in a cope over a suit of armour, the plates of which are diapered with various patterns of foliage and scroll-work in this manner. Possibly the patterns were made more visible by the insertion of a little black or other colouring matter. Mr. Way also informed me, that the same sort of work is not unfrequent in ancient goldsmiths' work, and on the enamelled ornaments of Limoges. There is a little of it in the ornaments of the small enamelled

dresses of these ladies are wholly wrought with their own bearings and their husbands, in alternate lozenges.

One of the most beautiful existing specimens of fret-work is an enamelled casket of copper-gilt, adorned with the arms of England, Valence, Angoulême, Dreux, Brabant, and Holland, engraved in Shaw's Specimens of Ancient Furniture, plate LXII.

^k On the effigy of Edward the Third (also of brass) in Westminster Abbey, the ornaments of the robes are represented by *engraving in lines*. See portions at large in Stothard's plates.

coffer in the museum of this Society. On the golden haloes placed round the heads of saints in ancient paintings, a punctured pattern may frequently be observed; the same contrivance is often adopted to enrich the golden portions of illuminations in books; and, from a description of the coronation chair of England, written by John Carter, F.S.A., it appears that part of its ornaments were of this kind.¹

The name given to this art I do not find mentioned by any modern writer; but I have ascertained, somewhat accidentally, that it was in English called *pounced* work, in French *pounsonnez*, or *poinçonné*,^m in Latin *ponsatum*, although a more accurate word would have been *punctuatum*, that is, pricked. I have been led to this word by a passage in the will of Joan Lady Bergavenny, dated 1434—"my round bason of silver, *pounced*ⁿ with morys letters;" upon which the late Mr. Dallaway, in his annotations prefixed to Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*,^o has made this remark:—"Pounsonnez, indented or pricked with a sharp-pointed instrument, a method of ornamenting plate used by the Moreseos or Moors in Spain, in patterns or shapes of flowers, but principally for letters:" the former part of which explanation appears to be derived from some good authority, though none is cited; whilst the latter has very much the air of being a gratuitous

¹ "The whole work has been painted, gilded, and enamelled in the most curious and delicate manner. On the back of the Chair are the lower lines of a King seated on a throne, with diapered hangings, &c. * * *. The lines expressing the figure, diapering, &c. are formed by small punctures made on a gold ground." See in Carter's *Ancient Architecture*, vol. ii. pl. vi. representations of various fragments of the ornaments of the Coronation Chair, as existing in the year 1807.

^m See various articles of plate *pounsonnez* in the catalogue of the royal Jewels, &c. in 11 Hen. VI. Rot. Parl. iv. 217.—"Le pied d'une Croix d'argent doré, *poinçonné* à la devise du Roy." *Inventaire des meubles de la Chapelle du Roy*, quoted by Menestrier in *La Devise du Roy Justifiée*, p. 75.

ⁿ In the inventory of Sir John Fastolfe's effects, 1439, occur "xij flatte peces (of plate) *pounsied* in the bottom." (*Archæol.* xxi. 242.) So late as the time of Cardinal Wolsey, we find the term applied to plate: "v boollis (bowls) of silvar *pounsied*, parcells-gilte," and "vj new greate gilte boolls withe martlitts *pounsied*, made with birdes." (*Inventory of Cardinal Wolsey's Plate*, &c. in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 288.)

^o Introduction, p. xxxii.

addition, and if so, Mr. Dallaway, in volunteering it, has probably fallen into a partial misapprehension; for, in the case of the bason "pounced with morys letters," the term Moorish applies strictly to the shape or character of the letters, and not to the method by which they were delineated; as in the very same will, just before, we find "morys letters" worked in tapestry: "my hallyng of black, red, and green, with morys letters, with cushions, bancours, and costers." It is evident that Moorish letters were those spreading characters which we meet with at this period, covering nearly the whole surface, and tricked out with scrolls and foliage, in order to do so; and which were called Moorish from being an imitation of the architectural friezes formed of Inscriptions which are frequent in the Moorish edifices of Spain: of course they might be worked in wool and silk, painted, sculptured, or engraved, as well as pounced. I have found the term in Latin in the volume of Durham Wills published by the Surtees Society (p. 53). Alan de Newark, who had been Archdeacon of Durham, and died in 1411, makes this bequest, "Item lego Willielmo cognato meo ciphum argenti coopertum, *ponsatum* in fundo et in cooperculo." The receptacles for perfumed powders, the lids of which were pierced entirely through, were called *pouncet*-boxes; and thence the dust placed in similar boxes, and still used for drying the ink of writings, acquired the name of *pounce*. In an invective of Chaucer against the extravagant waste of cloth in the reign of Richard the Second, the term is applied to the fashion of piercing holes in the margin of men's gowns, as well as clipping them into jagged edges by way of an ornamental border. There is also, he says, "so much pouncing of chesell to make holes, so much dagging of sheres forche," &c.; and that the word was still used two centuries later is shown by a passage from Bacon's Natural History, which is quoted in Johnson's Dictionary: "Barbarous people," says Bacon, "that go naked, do not only paint but *pounce* and raise their skin, that the painting may not be taken forth, and make it into works (*or marks?*)" This process we now call tattooing, having borrowed a word from the language of the "barbarous people" themselves, whilst our own word, that was used by Bacon, has been forgotten.

But to return to the Effigies in Westminster Abbey, on which I have now

only a few words to add, with respect to their present condition. It has been mentioned that they were originally gilt; and Widmore in his History of Westminster Abbey (p. 109) quotes the Liber Quaternus, one of the books of the church, which records that this gilding cost more than 400 marks. In this state the pouncing would have the appearance of a delicate frostwork, possibly rendered more distinct by the insertion of some small quantity of colouring. But now for many generations both the gilding and pounce-work have been obscured by a thick varnish of indurated dust, until at last they were entirely forgotten, except for the tradition of the successive authors who have described the Abbey and its Monuments. Camden, in the passage before given, mentions the King's White Hart and the Queen's Ostrich as well as the Broom-plant; but as the last only was positively connected by him with the monument at Westminster, subsequent writers adopted merely that clause of his statement. Of these writers the first I have to cite is Sandford, who, in his Genealogical History, printed in 1677, when describing the monument, says nothing about these devices, but in a previous note relating to Richard's armorial bearings, he uses precisely the words of Camden, though to this extent only, "A pescod branch, with the cods open, but the peas out, as it is upon his robe in his monument at Westminster." It is plain, therefore, that Sandford did not speak of these devices from his own observation; nor did his contemporary Anstis, though he criticised^p the expressions of Camden and Sandford, remarking that they were broom-cods and not peas-cods, which were "engraven" on the robe of Richard II. Next comes Dart, the Historian of Westminster Abbey; who adopts Sandford's note into his description of this monument, and that evidently without examining the original, for his words^q are, "his robing is wrought with Peascod Shells open, and the Peas out, but upon what account that device was us'd I know not:" but if he had examined the figure, he could not have found the Peas-cods and yet have overlooked the White Harts. Mr. Gough succeeds: he looked, but could see nothing; and in consequence makes use of this remarkable expression, "Dart and Sandford talk of open peas-cods on the King's robe; but one would wonder what

^p Register of the Order of the Garter, p. 114.

^q Vol. ii. p. 44.

suggested the idea."^r Lastly comes Mr. Brayley—for the writer of Ackermann's "History of St. Peter's, Westminster," does not notice the matter. Mr. Brayley mentions that one small spot of Richard's mantle had been kept rubbed bright, in order to show the gilding; and on that spot "the peascods are still faintly discernible."^s Mr. Brayley has described the monument with minuteness, showing that he had examined it carefully; and he in consequence considers himself entitled to correct Mr. Gough's account of the table, which, he says, "is all inaccurate, except in respect to the gilding. Not the least trace of any enamel is to be found on it, nor yet any fleurs-de-lis, lions, &c." It is strange Mr. Brayley did not perceive that Mr. Gough was quoting from the indentures of contract; but it is true that the author of the "Sepulchral Monuments" used the word "enamelled" without authority; the words of the Indenture are merely *fait ousque une frette*, "made with a fretwork." The escucheons of arms which were round the tomb, none of which remain, were all enamelled, "*du dit metal endorrez, gravez, et enamellez.*"

I have entered into these latter details principally to show that no little credit is due to Mr. Thomas Hollis for having brought to light these buried works of ancient art. That this was effected with considerable trouble will be acknowledged when I state that he spent four days merely in the mechanical labour of carefully clearing off the indurated dust, without time to use his pencil. Still, he has only partially cleaned the figures; for those portions which in the drawing before us^t have a dark shading, are still covered with a crust of dirt, which conceals their beauty; and nearly the whole of the table is in the same condition.

It is more than can be expected from an artist that he should devote his time, at his own loss, to a task which has stronger claims, on various grounds, upon many other parties. It would be a source of just congratulation to the lovers of ancient art if the conservation of national monuments was made

^r Sep. Mon. i. 163.

^s Neale and Brayley's Westminster Abbey, ii. 108.

^t Mr. Hollis exhibited a drawing of the Effigies, on a large size, being nearly half the scale of the originals.

a subject of public care here, as it now is in France, where at the present time so much is doing towards their restoration, at St. Denis, at Paris, at Rouen, and elsewhere; it were also a happy change were we to see the Dean and Chapter of Westminster commencing the repair of the more valuable monuments as well as the structure of their church; were we to see those monuments which are accordant with the character of the edifice relieved, as opportunities might arise, from disfigurement and obstruction, and those which are at present obtrusive made to retire, when possible, into the background: but until we observe some such objects as these entertained and zealously pursued by the Dean and Chapter, or the Government, I beg to submit to the Society of Antiquaries whether their efforts may not be very advantageously exerted in contributing at least to the restoration of one of the most beautiful works of art in the Abbey, and which may exhibit a useful example for future restorations of a like character.

IV. *Observations, in a Letter from the Rev. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE, M.A. to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. Treasurer, upon the Present State of Orford Castle, in the County of Suffolk; with some Conjectures as to the probable uses to which parts of the Building were assigned.*

Read 6th February, 1840.

POSITION.—ORFORD CASTLE is in no way remarkable for its position. It lies nearly two miles from the sea, and about half a mile from the river Ore, which here flows through low swampy ground, whilst on the land side the country is for some miles perfectly flat. But this natural weakness of its situation has been in some measure made up by the keep being erected upon a mound, that in a degree is artificial, and being surrounded by a fosse, varying from twenty to thirty feet in depth. In addition to this, the multangular keep was encircled by a lofty wall, that had merlons and a parapet walk all round. This concentric defence terminated at the approach across the fosse on the south-western side. Very little of it now remains, and even the whole of that which does, is so much hollowed out and broken near the ground, that it stands in a precarious and dangerous state.

APPROACH.—The approach was on the south-western side, over a solid structure of masonry, fifteen feet wide, and seventy-six long. It had probably a tower at either end; but as no traces are left of these, we can only offer conjecture as to their having existed.

PLAN.—Upon passing over this communication with the Inner Baly, we find a keep built upon a most regular plan, having a circular centre, with towers on three sides. The interior of the central part is disposed in three

floors; the towers, exclusive of the turrets, have five, two which are enter-
soles, and lie between the chief floors of the central ones.

MASONRY AND MATERIALS.—The masonry is very carefully executed; the coignings, with their abbevoirs, exist in a high degree of perfection. The building has only partially been faced with hewn stone, as the squared coigns are flush with the intervening work. Great part of the material used in the construction of this edifice was in all probability dug out when the fosse was made, or else obtained from the sea, the stone being precisely like that used for manufacturing cement, that is dredged up for the purpose, at the neighbouring port of Harwich, and procured even much nearer by vessels for the purpose of ballast. Internally, the workmanship is still more carefully executed, though at no period has there been a profuse display of architectural decoration. Both inside and out there is, in fact, a deficiency of ornament: a want that the builder has, however, amply compensated for, by the simplicity and boldness of the general character of the masonry.

ACTUAL STATE.—In consequence of the very praiseworthy care that has been taken of this building by its noble proprietor, the Marquis of Hertford, we are enabled to behold it, even at the present day, very little changed from its pristine state. The concentric wall and the original entrance over the fosse are, it is true, nearly totally destroyed, enough only remaining to indicate their having once existed; but the whole of the keep has suffered comparatively little since its first erection. Three or four only of the floors are gone; and, with the exception of the chapel, every part of the building is readily accessible. A modern roof of lead has been placed over the centre of the keep, and the upper floor newly laid, which will be the means of helping to preserve this interesting military structure for a considerable period. Upon looking at the state of the keep internally, it is found to be little injured by time or despoilers. The mouldings, arches, staircases, windows and doorways, are little impaired, and the *garderobes* merely require their seats, to render them equal to any modern conveniences of the kind.

ENTRANCE.—ANTECHAMBER (K).—(Plate IV. No. II.)—The entrance into the keep itself, and the only one it ever had, is effected by a flight of steps on the south-east side. As at Castle Hedingham, there was formerly a porch at the head; the bearing places of whose roof are still distinctly visible. The

original steps are gone, and they are supplied by modern ones. An angular headed doorway, of very singular construction, (see Plate IV. fig. 1.) immediately leads into a small *antechamber*, having three windows, looking out to the south and west.

PORTCULLISES.—The doors of entrance and exit of this room had at no time portcullises, but were strengthened by large bars of timber pushed through the wall across the door. The entire absence of the *Herse* is very unusual, and can only be explained, under the supposition that there was one at the porch of entrance, now fallen. On the same reason we must explain the want of it in the Norman keep of Ludlow. The whole of the entrance side of the Norman keep at Kenilworth having fallen, we are left in doubt as to its having existed there. It is, however, wanting in the Norman portions of Goodrich and Chepstow. As a general feature, it may be assumed that Norman castles in Great Britain were without portcullises, or else protected by only one, as we see to be the case in the castles of Colchester, Rochester, and Castle Rising; and this defence was confined to the chief gate of entrance. It was not until the reign of the Edwards that these obstacles so frequently interfered with the admittance of besiegers. At Beaumaris, Carnarvon, and Harlech, we find three under every gateway, whilst at the vast pile of Caerphilly there are not only as many at every place of entrance, but nearly every door and passage above and below was fortified by this means. At the west entrance of the Tower there are two.

Whilst on this subject, it may be worth stating that this machine bore in the middle ages the several titles of *cataracta*, or cataract, from its sudden and impetuous fall; the *Sarrazine*, or *Sarracenesca*, a word borrowed probably from the Italians; the *Herse*, and the *Orgue*: the last of which differed from the preceding by being made of wood, and always having its bars perpendicular, without any transverse ones.

A curious illustration of the portcullis is seen over the entrance of Goodrich Castle; a circular aperture in the wall, on either side, shows where its roller worked, an oblique perforation in the stone served as an *oilway* to render its revolutions easier.

In the single portcullis of the Normans, we only observe an external impediment to the assailants; but in those of the Edwardian castles we see, united with this feature, a crafty means of shutting up the enemy under the

stockades, when the outer door was forced. They might have been permitted to advance as far as the second portcullis, when the first being suddenly set at liberty they were detained as prisoners.

DONJONS.—Plan No. I. (A.) (B.). Plate IV.—Underneath the anteroom just described is a small chamber, nearly the same size, communicating by a very low narrow passage with a still smaller room, about six feet square. The access to them was by a ladder or wooden stairs, and, as neither of them have windows, they seem to have been used for *donjons*. Strictly speaking, the *donjon* of a castle was one of the turrets, the name being derived from the Celtic *dun*, an eminence. Prisoners were usually lodged here for greater safety, and a lower part of the building answering the same purpose, by degrees their place of incarceration became changed.

FIRST FLOOR.—(Plan, No. II.)—A doorway, similar in construction to the external one of entrance, conducts us into a passage to the first floor. This was secured, internally, by a large bar of timber, seven feet and a-half long, by six inches and ten inches in thickness, that passed into the wall, and was pushed out to strengthen it, when necessary. A second door, secured in similar way by a beam sliding into the wall on the western side, opens immediately upon the first floor, and which consists of four rooms, the central or circular part of the keep being the chief. The others are disposed of in the abutting angular towers.

CHIEF ROOM.—(Plan, No. II.)—The chief room of the first floor is circular within, about twenty-six feet in diameter, and twenty-one in height. It is lighted directly by six narrow square-headed windows, two lights together, under recesses slightly pointed, which are thirteen feet four inches high, eight feet deep, and seven and a half wide. The windows are respectively three feet high, and admit an opening in the clear of one and a half. They had all shutters, fastened with iron and wooden bolts; the mortice holes for them still remain, as do the hooks of the hinges upon which the shutters themselves swung. Besides this, they were protected by iron bars, two upright and seven transverse, in every window. (For external view of window, see plate I. fig. 2.) On the north-east is a fire-place, with a low, slightly pointed arch. At its back are three courses of tile and one of brick, set

herring-bone wise, but not like the courses at Colchester, manufactured at the period of the Roman dominion in Great Britain.

SCULLERY.—(H.)—At the south-west side a narrow passage leading from the window recess conducts us into a small vaulted room (H.), that has two fire-places, side by side, and a circular-headed sink. It must have been a room used as a scullery or for culinary purposes. An irregular passage out of it brings us to two *garderobes*, which were originally separated by a twelve-inch wall.

DORMITORY OF THE SENÉCHAL.—(Plan No. III. A.) Plate V.—From the north recess (A.), a small circular staircase takes us by twenty-one steps into a well-proportioned chamber, lying betwixt the first and second chief floors, at the north-east angle of the building. This being the only way of access, it shall, though more properly belonging to the next floor, be here described.

That this was used as a dormitory, there does not appear the least reason for doubting. Its contiguity to the apartments on the first floor would lead us to the inference that it was assigned to the *senéchal*, one of whose duties it was to attend to and superintend the cuisine of his lord. The Roman de Rose and other authorities directly allude to this occupation, as being peculiarly his.

Force ont li *Sénéchal* hasté
A la cuisine la viande.

And Raoul de Cambrai speaks to the same effect—

Et li Baron sont as tables assis,
Li *Sénéchal* s'en sont bien entremis,
De bien servir chacun fut bien apris.

URINARY.—On the north side of the small passage at the head of the stairs is a triangular aperture through the wall that was evidently designed for an urinary, the internal opening being too small to allow of its appropriation to any other purpose. A spout formed of two stones, one lying on the other, each slightly grooved so as to form a round channel, projects externally a few inches from the wall to carry whatever was emptied into it clear from the building. (See Pl. IV. figs. No. III. (A), interior view. No. III. (A'') exterior appearance.)

BED CHAMBER.—(G).—From the window recess on the eastern side a passage leads into a large square chamber, vaulted like all of those situated in the abutting towers, and having a window to the north-east, which had a shutter, as in the instances of the smaller windows, fastened by a round bolt (G).

DOOR OF EXIT FROM FIRST FLOOR.—Ascending one step on the south-western side of the first floor, we pass through a spacious doorway communicating at once with the chief staircase occupying the whole of this angle of the keep. It was secured on the staircase side by two bolts.

BASEMENT FLOOR.—(Plan, No. I.) Plate IV.—From the landing-place twenty-four steps bring us down to the *Basement Floor*. This comprises three rooms; one underneath the antechamber of first floor, a very small one contiguous, and a circular room occupying the centre of the keep, twenty-seven feet in diameter and sixteen feet six in height. It does not communicate with the foregoing.

CELLARS.—(C), (D).—The chief features in this room are two large slightly pointed recesses that perhaps served the purpose of cellars; a well four feet in diameter sunk in the very centre of the building; and a square-headed sink, having a portion of its original lining of lead still remaining at the sides.

SINK.—(E).—It has already been noticed that the sink in the scullery upon the first floor was circular-headed internally, though its vent-hole was square. Here we have a square-headed sink with a circular vent-hole (E).

The basement floor is lighted by three loops, each about one foot wide, and three high. This room was probably devoted to the reception of stores.

CONTRIVANCE FOR FASTENING ENTRANCE DOOR.—Upon returning to the landing-place connected with the first floor a large mortice hole is observable in the wall of the western side of the staircase, through which was passed a beam of timber seven feet and a half long, by six inches wide and ten inches thick, to secure the door of entrance from the antechamber into the first floor.

GRAND STAIRCASE.—The noble staircase in the south-eastern angle serves as the medium of communication, with only one exception, with all the rooms of the keep. It is in every respect perfect from top to bottom; the steps and newels being as entire as the day they were first built. It is lighted

by five square-headed windows (see Pl. I. fig. 10), which are so placed as to light directly the landings of each story. A measure taken through the lowest of them to the interior edge of the wall of the basement floor, makes the entire thickness of the south-east angle to be nineteen feet.

SECOND FLOOR.—(Plan, No. III.) Plate V.—Twenty-two steps bring us on a level with the landing to the second floor (No. III.) or entresole, which lies between the two great circular ones occupying the centre of the building, and being, like the fourth, situated in the angular towers only. We find on this story five rooms, which are thus appropriated.

First, the *Chapel* (Plan, No. III. fig. D), at present without roof or flooring, and in consequence of the latter deficiency it was found impracticable to take the exact measurement. As, however, it lies immediately over the antechamber, we may fairly set it down at the same size, merely deducting the space for the bearings of the floor. This portion of the castle, with that lying underneath, being an excrescence from the general plan of the building, it would appear to have been added after the chief part was erected. The donjons, antechamber, and chapel, might have been after-thoughts.

CHAPEL.—(D.)—The *chapel* is lighted by two plain square-headed windows on the western side, and one on the southern. Not the least remarkable point of interest in it is the existence of the *Altar*. There are two small square *armoires* or *ambrys* in the wall on the south side, and a similar receptacle for the *ciborium*, a little to the right over the *Altar*, on the east.

DORMITORY FOR THE PRIEST.—(C.)—Secondly, an oblong vaulted chamber (C) lighted to the south. From its contiguity to the chapel it was perhaps assigned as the *dormitory for the priest*. It communicates,

GARDEROBE FOR THE PRIEST.—(B.)—Thirdly, with a *garderobe* for his use (B), the door into which was secured internally by a bolt. Leading hence we have

CLOSET.—(E.)—Fourthly, a closet (E), and

DORMITORY OF THE SENÉCHAL.—(A.)—Fifthly, the presumed dormitory of the senéchal (A), approached from a staircase at the north-east angle of the first floor, as has been already described.

THIRD FLOOR.—(Plan, No. IV.)—Ascending, we pass off a landing to the

third floor ; which, like the first floor, communicates immediately with the two other angular towers of the keep. The landing place, where it directly offers access to the chief room of the building, was lighted by a window, looking over the leads of the chapel. The passage, from the head of the stairs to the great room, was secured by two folding doors, as there remain indications of hinges on either side. A heavy wooden bolt went into the wall on the right-hand side. The third floor consists of six rooms, which may be thus appropriated.

GRAND APARTMENT.—(D.)—First. The grand circular apartment on the third story was lighted from a similar quarter to the one beneath it, but with windows having a greater height in the clear. Like those below, they are under arched recesses slightly pointed, and possess a trifling difference externally. (See Plate IV. fig. 3.)

This great apartment is nearly thirty feet in diameter and of a proportionate height. The roof and flooring, as already stated, are modern erections. On the north-east side there is a spacious fire-place, that has a circular-headed arch.

CHAMBER.—(B.)—Secondly. A chamber, on the western side, of irregular shape, furnished with a fire-place and sink. The former has four rows of herring-bone work at the back, and two of tile placed horizontally. The sink is at the north end. The fire-place is not without a degree of architectural beauty ; and it seems natural to infer, from the room having a water drain, that it was occasionally used for the purposes of cooking. (See B.)

GARDEROBE.—(C.)—Thirdly. On the north-west side, a *Garderober* (C.) entered by a long passage, having had a door at its entrance. This, like all the other chambers on the third floor, was ascended by a single step, five inches high. The beauty and perfection of the masonry throughout the whole of this floor are alike admirable.

DORMITORY OF THE PROPRIETOR.—(A.)—Fourthly. A vaulted and commodious *Dormitory* (A.), eleven feet three, by eight feet four, and twelve feet in height, looking to the north-east. It must have been that occupied by the proprietor himself, a supposition we fancy ourselves justified in drawing, not merely from the fact of its being immediately adja-

cent to the chief floor where the heads of the family invariably resided : but also in consequence of its being the most complete in the whole castle.

PRIVATE CLOSET.—(E.)—Fifthly. An irregular room (E.) lighted to the east ; that, from the smallness of its size, could only have served as a retiring closet from the grand apartment, or as a dressing room for

DORMITORY.—(H.)—Sixthly. An unlighted Dormitory (H.) which, unlike the opposite room, had formerly a door.

FOURTH FLOOR.—(Plan, No. V.)—This consists of only two rooms, which lie in the west and north-east towers ; they are low and small, nearly square, and served most likely for Dormitories.

FEMALES' DORMITORY.—(A.)—The grand staircase communicates with the first (A.) by means of a winding passage, two feet and a half wide. The thickness of the wall at the window is five feet three, being two feet three thicker than it is in the corresponding room underneath, upon the third floor, and one foot thicker than the corresponding room on the second floor, whilst it is two inches less than that of the first floor.

As the female domestics must of necessity have had some apartments assigned to them, there does not appear, in the whole building, any one more likely than this, both from the circumstance of its being an apartment inferior to the rest, as well as from its being quite shut out from all others.

The second room (B.) is about the same size, but was entered from the original roof, in a way difficult to be now precisely explained.

FIFTH FLOOR.—(Plan, No. VI.)—Having thus ascended to the roof of the central portion of the keep, we come to the three hexagonal turrets, that rise up from each of the abutting angles of the building. (See Plan, No. VI.)

They are unconnected with each other, the entrance into each being distinct. There are no existing indications of the original method of entering them ; it was probably effected by wooden stairs. Each of these turrets had two floors : only the lowermost of these now remains ; the upper one was doubtlessly arrived at by a ladder.

OVEN.—(A.)—At the north-east angle (A.) exists perhaps the most remarkable feature in the interior arrangement of this, or indeed any other castle. It is a large *Oven*, constructed with Norman brick, and arched precisely as such places are at the present day. Such a necessary convenience, being placed in this elevated place, may give rise to curious conjecture.

The western turret (B.) is void. The south-eastern one (C.) is used to give signals from, and contains a flag staff. It serves as a valuable landmark to sailors.

PARAPET WALK.—(D.)—COPING. MERLONS.—Between each of the three turrets is a flagged parapet walk, the exterior wall being raised above the tread five feet four, and the wall itself being two feet thick. The coping stones, both round the top of the central portion, and upon the summit of the turrets, remain in a great state of perfection. The extreme width of the wall, at the top of this central part, is eight feet eight. It will be seen too, that the MERLONS and embrasures with which the main portion of the building was furnished, are comparatively little dilapidated, when we consider the length of time the keep has been erected. The entire height of the central part to the ground is seventy feet, and from the summit of the western tower, ninety-six.

V. *A Letter addressed by CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.,
to JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq., F.R.S., Director, on an
ancient enamelled Ouche, in Gold.*

Read 3rd December 1840.

DEAR SIR,

I NOW proceed to submit to you some remarks on the presumed Saxon Fibula or Ouche, which I had the pleasure to exhibit last year to the Society. (Plate X.)

The interest attached to so superb an illustration of the state of the arts in one of the most obscure periods of history, will, I hope, afford sufficient grounds for having delayed the attempt to do justice to the merits and claims of a gem, which may be pronounced almost *sui generis*.

Inscriptions, which, from the language and forms of the letters or characters, serve so materially to settle dates, fail here to aid our investigations. Comparison with works analogous is our only safe guide: the means for applying this test extend only to a few specimens preserved in our own country.

I have little doubt but that in some of the continental museums and libraries, collateral or direct evidence may be found that would assist us in making a correct and satisfactory appropriation of a work so beautiful in design and construction. Yet the delay that such a research would require, would not perhaps procure so effective a remuneration as the publication of an engraving of the gem itself, with such opinions as at present we are justified in holding, thereby affording our friends abroad an opportunity of refuting or confirming our position, and showing that our aim is not to advance theory, but to elicit truth. ¹

The subject of our inquiry was discovered in the spring of last year while excavating a sewer opposite Dowgate Hill, in Thames Street, at the depth of about nine feet, in a dark-coloured artificial stratum of earth, unaccompanied by any remains that could aid in throwing light on its history.

It came immediately into my hands in the fine condition in which it now appears, the only cleansing process required being the application of a soft brush and water. The measure of the Ouche is four inches and a half in circumference. It is composed of a circular compartment, one inch and a quarter in diameter, set with variegated enamel, representing a full-faced head and bust, the outlines of which, with a crown on the head and the drapery of a mantle and tunic, are formed of threads of gold, effectively arranged so as to mark the features of the face and the folds of the drapery; this is enclosed in a border of rich gold filigree-work, set at equal distances with four pearls.

The enamel work is composed of a green and blue semi-transparent material of a vitreous character for the garments, and a white opaque substance of the same nature for the face. The hair, indicated by a darker colour, is divided in two bands over the forehead. A crown, with three globes, surrounds the head, the fillets of which appear pendent on either side, with a foliated termination. The bust is arrayed with the chlamys or mantle over a tunic gracefully attached to each shoulder. Whether the base be metallic or siliceous, analysis can alone determine. It exhibits distinct characters from the material used in the ordinary enamelled productions of the 9th to the 16th centuries, which are invariably opaque. It is almost transparent, possesses little hardness (as a fine steel point will scratch it), has a fractured texture, and presents the appearance of an imperfect crystallization.

In the absence of means for making an analysis of the materials, or for ascertaining the mode of the construction of this work, we must rest contented with a close superficial observation.

It would seem that a kind of box had first been prepared, and in it arranged the outlines or skeleton work of the figure, formed of thin plates of gold, and constituting cells for the reception of the vitreous substance, which appears to have been poured in when in a semi-fluid state, and

subsequently ground down to the required thickness. This is the opinion of Mr. Bridge, the eminent goldsmith. Mr. Albert Way thinks that the coloured material was introduced into the lodgements in a pulverised form, which melted on exposure to heat at a low temperature, and assumed a vitreous appearance.

The fibula,^a ouche, or brooch, is an ornament of the remotest antiquity. Originating in the very earliest periods of civilisation, as an indispensable adjunct to the dress; it has, through thousands of years, retained its place in the costume of all nations, varying from the simplest form and material to the most elaborate embellishments of the most precious gems and metal, according to the taste or luxury of the times.

Towards the decline of the Roman Empire, the passion for decorated dress gradually increased. From the fourth century, the diadems of the Emperors become more and more enriched with pearls and costly stones, the fibulae appear embossed, and the paludamentum embroidered also with pearls and jewels. Later still, we perceive on the coins of the Byzantine princes, the diadems and robes profusely studded with these ornaments, so as almost to conceal the objects they were intended to adorn.

It is curious to trace the analogy at certain epochs, in works of art, between the Byzantine school, France and England; but Eastern fashion seems to have had but little, if any, influence on the customs and habits of the Saxons, who retained a nationality of costume as well as of character, the superior elegance and classicality of which, as exemplified in the illuminated manuscripts, appears uncorrupted by intercourse with their Eastern contemporaries.

Now, though our gem reminds us of the style of Byzantine work, also of works of art preserved in France, attributed to the 11th and 12th centuries, yet this similarity appears to extend only to general character; in details there is a marked difference.

^a It is probable that this fibula might have been used for fastening the mantle to the shoulder. Throughout the Saxon illuminated manuscripts, the fibula or brooch appears as one of the chief characteristics of nobility, generally on the shoulder, though sometimes it secures the mantle in front.

The drawing, the arrangement of the dress and the simplicity of the crown, have altogether a purer and chaster stamp than the Byzantine works exhibit; while, at the same time, in the gold filigree, there is a certain resemblance to the *entourages* of those beautifully ornamented gold Roman coins adapted for suspension round the neck. Not that I am prepared to call this Roman work from mere resemblance (for I know of no instance of pearls being used in the borders of such medallions), but coupled with the costume, this similarity might have weight in establishing the claims of our fibula to an earlier period than we may else be disposed to assign. This, I think, cannot well be allowed to be later than the ninth century, and if the evidence I am about to adduce should not, in your opinion, fix it to *that* period, I should be disposed to think it still earlier.

It will often be observed, that in these ornamental works, no decisively distinct features will for centuries be perceptible. The filigree round Roman gold coins is allied to that surrounding the jewel, and later works of a similar nature, and even to the present day filigree almost identical is produced in the East, in Africa, and at Malta. In reference to this analogy in works of different eras, may be noticed the resemblance the gem, in the Hamilton collection before alluded to, bears to that figured by Lane as worn on the forehead by the ladies of modern Egypt.

The well-known and often discussed jewel of King Alfred, deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a large convex brooch, in the case of the Hamilton gems in the British Museum, are specimens analogous to this under consideration. The three are of precisely the same character and work, though differing in details. That in the Hamilton Collection, which is the largest, being about two inches and a half in diameter, and has the filigree work of like character, set with pearls; but no portrait or image, and the coloured glass is arranged in stars of four points, while that on the uppermost compartment somewhat resembles the *croix fleurie* of later times. This is believed to have been found in Scotland, but unfortunately nothing elucidating its history is on record.

I am indebted to the courtesy and research of Mr. Albert Way, for further information.

ther comparison with analogous enamels. The most remarkable is the Golden Chalice, designated that of St. Remigius, formerly in the cathedral of Rheims and now in the King's Library at Paris, which Mr. Way thinks may be safely ascribed to the thirteenth century. It is ornamented with gems and pearls set in collars like those of our jewel, and with small plates of enamelled work of the same kind surrounded by delicate filigree. Another instance is the binding of an Evangelium, now in the Hall of Jewels in the Louvre. It is enriched with plaques of large size, formed in the mode used in our specimen.

The jewel of King Alfred, however, more closely resembles our brooch. There is the same mode of setting, and the same simplicity of costume in the two figures, though the design on our specimen is much superior. The fillets also which form the outlines of the subject are much finer. The transparency of the materials of the former is also greater, especially the green in the central compartment, which in appearance resembles glass. The filigree work of the two has a close affinity.

We are therefore justified, I think, in considering them of the same period, and if so, that period is ascertained by the Saxon inscription of

+ AELFRED MEC HEHT GEVVRCAN: "Alfred me ordered to-be-wrought."

Though I will not venture to assert that the beautiful subject of our inquiry is one of the very productions of the foreign artificers mentioned by the historian Asser, who, under the personal superintendence of Alfred, executed works in silver and gold, still it is not only not improbable, but very possible, that this may be the case, and thus would be explained the apparent mixture of Byzantine and Saxon work.

Alfred had visited Rome, his father Ethelwulf also, who resided there twelve months. On his return, this latter Prince married a daughter of Charles the Bald of France.^d To this foreign intercourse may be referred the introduction in this country of a taste for Byzantine ornament.

^d Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 94. The great pomp with which Ethelwulf visited Rome is also mentioned. The love of this prince for show and ornament is also apparent by the costly work he made for the shrine of St. Aldhelm.—Will. Malmesbury, *de Pontificibus*, Lib. v.

Artisans brought into England from Rome or Constantinople, would, if they attempted a portrait, copy what was before them, and thus the costume of England, and not of Rome or Byzantium, would be attended to, while the general style of the work, and the embellishments, would be influenced by designs to which the artist had been accustomed and familiar.

The crown, surmounted by globes, is not unusual in illuminated MSS. I have met with no precedent for the wavy kind of fillets: the nearest resemblance is in some foliated ornaments appended to the crown in the Bible of Charles the Bald, and the Gospels written for Lothaire, both in the King's Library, at Paris. Charles was contemporary with Alfred, and it may be observed there is also a degree of similitude in the costume.*

With regard to the object intended by the artist to be represented, a question may arise, whether it be meant for a saint or for a portrait of some royal personage? A close inspection will show that what at a first glance may seem a nimbus, is in reality a crown; but, while (for reasons above mentioned) I have ventured to assign this Ouche to the time of Alfred, and have presumed it to be the work of foreign artists, though executed in England, yet I do not feel warranted in advancing more than a conjecture, that the portrait is intended for a likeness of that Prince.

I remain, dear Sir,

your faithful servant,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

To JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq.
Director S.A. &c. &c.

* See Montfaucon's *Monarchie Francaise*, vol. i. plate xxvi.

VI. *Further Notes on the Runic Cross at Lancaster ;*
by JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, *Esq.*

Read 14th January 1841.

January 6, 1841.

IN Dr. Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 229, there is a copy of a Runic inscription upon a stone cross of some beauty and very great antiquity. The inaccuracy of this copy was noted by me in my *Memoir on the Anglo-Saxon Runes*, published in the *Archæologia*, vol. XXVIII. page 347, as presenting an insuperable bar to any attempt at explaining the inscription.

I was not then aware that a far more careful delineation of it was to be found in Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 524, being in fact a fac-simile, or cast, taken from the stone itself. Mr. Ormerod, to whom I am indebted for this information, was so obliging as to send me a copy of this (Plate XII. fig. 2), and to accompany it with two others, which have been of much service in assisting me to decypher it. The first of these (Plate XI. fig. 1.), containing a view of the cross itself (with, however, a fancy background of Lancaster bridge and castle,) is from a drawing made by Captain Edward Jones, of Caton Hall, co. Lancaster, and contains the runes on a small scale, the principal object of the draughtsman being probably the cross. The second (fig. 3.) is from a drawing made by James Lonsdale, Esq. of Lancaster, from the stone itself. Mr. Baines's fac-simile and Mr. Lonsdale's copy are of the size of the original, which is now preserved in the house of the Vicar, within whose churchyard it was dug up.

The runes are in remarkably good preservation, and offer no difficulties at all to an experienced reader ; at the same time their contents are of much

interest, as strongly confirming the views put forward in the memoir alluded to, respecting the use of Runes for Christian inscriptions. Like all the rest which we possess, they supply us also with monuments of the Northumbrian dialect of Anglo-Saxon, at a very early period.

It will be seen, on reference to the figures, that there are three lines of runic characters; these are the usual letters met with in Anglo-Saxon monuments, and appear to have been well and carefully executed. Their extremities have suffered somewhat from the vicissitudes of at least ten centuries, but on the whole their outline is perfect, and few monuments in Europe, boasting so great antiquity, are in any thing like such good preservation.

In Dr. Hibbert's cast (Baines's copy) but one letter can be said to be at all doubtful, and fortunately Whitaker's, Captain Jones's, and Mr. Lonsdale's copies all concur in the right reading. Except in that one case, I shall confine myself to the fac-simile given by Baines, as where the others happen to differ from it, they are obviously wrong.

The first letter is † , the common runic G. The second, third, and fourth are respectively I, B, and I. The fifth, in Dr. Hibbert's cast assumes the form of an R, or a B, but this is erroneous. From the other three copies it is absolutely certain that it was a M, D; in them all it is nearly perfect; and if we suppose that it was when originally cut, rather narrower than usual, we shall see at once how it takes the form it has in Dr. Hibbert's cast. The sixth and seventh letters, which complete the first word, are F , Æ , and þ , TH. The whole word is GIBIDÆTH.

The second word comprises the two last runes of the first line, and the two first of the second; they present no difficulty whatever, and are respectively F , F ; H , O; R; F , Æ . The word is the preposition FORÆ, or, in its common form, FORE.

The remainder of the inscription supplies us with two proper names, of which the first takes up the remaining letters of the second and the first of the third line. These also are perfectly legible, and are as follows: h , C; H , Y; † , N; I; B; H , A; A , L; þ , TH. The first name then is CYNIBALTH, in the common form CYNEBEALD. The rest of the letters,

with exception of the last, which, however, cannot cause a moment's hesitation, are h, C; D, U; þ, TH; B; M, E; R; N, H; and ↑, T. This name then is CUTHBERHT.

The omission of a copula between these two names, as well as the final E of the ablative case, leads to the assumption of one of two hypotheses. Either the stone was found to be too narrow for the whole inscription, and this the rather compressed form of the runes renders probable: or, two syllables are wanting at the end of the whole, and carried on round the cross; these syllables are the ablative of the patronymic termination ING, so that the words would be CYNIBALTH CUTHBERHTINGÆ. It will only be possible to come to a certain conclusion on this point, when we succeed in ascertaining who this Cynebeald was.

The meaning of the inscription is now perfectly clear; it is the common epitaph of Catholic times, and must be rendered, according as we adopt one or the other of the above named hypotheses, either

ORATE PRO CYNIBALDO [ET] CUTHBERHTO.

or,

ORATE PRO CYNIBALDO CUTHBERHTI [FILIO.]

In either case it furnishes a very interesting example of the use of runes for the purposes stated in the memoir.

In fig. 4, I have given a copy of the inscription as it must have appeared when first executed. A comparison with the drawing from the cast, fig. 2, will show how very little it has suffered. A comparison also of the different drawings leads to the conclusion that there is no method of re-producing inscriptions, so likely to ensure accuracy as that of making a cast from the stone. A draughtsman is always more or less misled by his fancy; he who is totally ignorant of the meaning of what he copies, runs the risk, through his ignorance, of omitting important parts; while on the other hand, he who has some knowledge of the subject, is exposed to the still greater danger of substituting his own suggestions for the readings of the original. The more mechanical the process of copying, the more chance is there of success. In conclusion, I will venture to suggest to the members of the



XIBIHITV
RTHHIBRT
PKHBMNNK

Fig. 3.

Runic Cross at Lancaster

J. B. - 2000

Fig. 2



Fig. 4



J. Baire, sculp.



Society of Antiquaries, that they would confer a great benefit on the studious world by causing plaster of Paris casts to be made of as many of these Runic inscriptions as they can obtain access to, and depositing them in the Society's museum. Were such a cast now furnished of the Bewcastle stone, I should still entertain hopes of being able to decypher it.

J. M. KEMBLE.

VII. *Remarks upon Letters of Thomas Winter and Lord Mounteagle, lately discovered by JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.; communicated to the Society by DAVID JARDINE, Esq., in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 10th December 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

Regent's Park, November 30, 1840.

I HAVE read with much interest the letters of Thomas Winter and Lord Mounteagle, communicated by Mr. Bruce to the Society of Antiquaries in February last; and as I hesitate to adopt the conclusion which that gentleman deduces from the latter of the two letters, I venture to submit a few observations upon the subject to the consideration of the Society.

On the first perusal of Lord Mounteagle's letter, I was carried away by Mr. Bruce's statement, and certainly thought that his discovery would go far to clear up one of the most remarkable mysteries in modern history; but after minutely examining it with reference to contemporaneous facts, I think that the date of the letter is altogether doubtful, and consequently that it does not decide the question of Lord Mounteagle's criminal implication in the Gunpowder Plot.

With this impression on my mind, and sensible of the readiness with which new and striking points in history are adopted, when propounded by such authority as that of Mr. Bruce, I have thought it worth while to communicate my reasons in detail. The question is minute, but not wholly unimportant; and the mistake of even a small point in history is like inaccurately laying down an angle in surveying, where a very slight deviation in setting out may produce unexpected results, and affect property to a serious extent.

In order that my observations may be readily applied to the subject of them, it is desirable that I should prefix copies of the two letters.

The letter of Thomas Winter is as follows :

" To my loving frind Mr. Ro. Catsby.

" Though all you malefactors flock to London as birdes in winter to a dunghill, yett doe I, honest man, freely possess the seet cuntry ayre ; and to say truth, would fayne be amonge you, but cannott as yett gett mony to come up. I was att Asbye to have mett you, but you were newly gonne ; my busines and your uncertaine stay made me hunt no further. I pray you commend me to our frinds ; and when ocasion shall require, send downe to my brother's, or Mr. Talbott's ; within this moneth, I wilbe with you at London. So God keep you ; this 12th of October.

" Your loving frind,

" THO. WINTOUR."

Lord Mounteagle's letter is as follows :

" To my loving kinsman Robert Catesbye, esquier, geve theise. Lipyeat.

" If all creatures borne under the mones spheare can not endure without the ellimentes of aier and fyre, in what languishment have wee lede owre lyfe, since wee departed from the deare Robine whose conversation gave us such warmeth as wee neded no other heate to mainetayne owre healthes. Since, therfore, yt is proper to all, to desire a reamedy for their disease, I doe by theise, bynd the, by the lawes of Charitye to make thy present aparence here at the Bath ; and lett no watery Nimpes diuert you, who can better lyve with the aier, and better forbear the fyre of your spirite and vigoure than wee, who accumptes thy person the only Sone that must ripene owre harvest. And thus I rest

" Ever fast tyed to your frendshipp

" W. MOWNTEAGLE."*

* I have no doubt of the genuineness of this letter, having carefully compared the elaborate signature with Lord Mounteagle's signature to his confession relating to the Essex conspiracy, which is at the State Paper Office.

Before I proceed to examine Lord Mounteagle's letter, I have to propose an objection to the date assigned to that of Thomas Winter. The letter bears date the 12th of October, "no doubt," says Mr. Bruce, "in the year 1605." The contents of the letter seem to me to be inconsistent with this supposition. Winter complains of being detained by his poverty in the country; but he was certainly in London at the prorogation on the 3rd of October 1605. He states in his examination,^b dated the 13th of November 1605, that "he was at the Parliament House at such time as the prorogation was; and that he was then attendant upon the Lord Mounteagle to the said Parliament House, and was present at the said prorogation." Greenway, in his Narrative, also mentions the fact of Winter's presence in the Parliament House at the prorogation, and says he was expressly sent thither by the confederates, in order to observe whether the conduct and demeanour of the Commissioners (of whom Lord Mounteagle was one) denoted any suspicion of the design.^c After the prorogation, Thomas Winter states, "we all went down until some ten days before the 5th of November."^d So that on the 12th of October 1605, all the conspirators, the "malefactors," whom Winter describes as "flocking to London as birdes in winter to a dunghill," were in the country by express arrangement. These facts are obviously irreconcilable with the language of the letter, and therefore it could not have been written in 1605. I think it almost equally clear that it could not have been written on the 12th of October 1604; for it is said by several of the conspirators, and among them by Thomas Winter himself,^e that they met in London a little before Michaelmas Term in that year, which term then commenced on the 9th of October.

Winter's letter, however, is, as Mr. Bruce observes, of much less importance than that of Mounteagle, and even if the date of the former could be distinctly proved, the mere circumstance that both letters were found together in a volume of the Cotton Manuscripts, would furnish no valid argument that they

^b State Paper Office.

^c Greenway's MS, p. 60.

^d Thomas Winter's Confession, 23 November 1605, as published in "The Gunpowder Treason," p. 57, edit. 1679.

^e Ibid. p. 52.

were written at the same time. The date, therefore, of Lord Mounteagle's letter must be determined, if at all, by a consideration of its contents, and a comparison of them with facts and occurrences, the dates of which are beyond question.

The historical value of the letter chiefly depends upon its date. That Lord Mounteagle was intimately connected by friendship, blood, or marriage, not only with Catesby, but with several conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot; that he had been involved with them in Essex's insurrection, and in a treasonable correspondence with Spain before the death of Elizabeth, are circumstances as well established by proof as any facts in history; and therefore, if the letter does not refer to any plot at all, but is a mere familiar communication to Catesby that his presence was desired by his friends and relations at Bath, (and the language of it, however figurative, does not necessarily mean any thing more); or if it is to be ascribed to the periods of the earlier plots in which Mounteagle and Catesby were engaged, it may be interesting and useful as an illustration, but it proves no fact that was not fully ascertained before the discovery of the letter. On the other hand, if the letter was in truth written in September 1605, the facts that Mounteagle was at Bath and holding intercourse with Catesby at the precise point of time, when we know that the latter and Percy met there by appointment to settle what additions they should make to the confederacy, would give a positive direction to many circumstances which are otherwise equivocal, and would raise a strong argument that the writer had a guilty knowledge of the treason then in progress. And when the date is fixed, the ambiguous allusions to "aier" and "fyre" become material; but they do not seem to me to be sufficiently pointed in themselves to be relied upon in fixing the date, or even to justify a reasonable presumption on the subject.

The date of the letter then being of such essential importance, what evidence have we to determine that fact? Mr. Bruce says that, although "it is without date, it was evidently written in September 1605." Now, I search in vain for any proof of this proposition upon the face of the letter; for to reason from the expressions about "aier" and "fyer" appears to me to be assuming the whole question. At the same time, facts are alluded to in the letter, such as the contemporaneous presence of Mounteagle at Bath

and Catesby at Lypiatt, which might decide the question, if it were possible to obtain sufficient light respecting the private and personal history of these individuals for a few years before 1605. At a distance of more than two centuries, full information respecting the domestic movements of private persons is not to be expected; but some facts I happen to have collected for other purposes, and as far as they bear upon the subject of my present communication, I shall venture to submit them to the judgment of the Society. Before I do so, however, I am desirous of explaining *in limine*, that I do not undertake to prove the negative of the proposition advanced by Mr. Bruce;—I do not undertake to establish as a fact, that the letter was not written by Mounteagle in September 1605. It may possibly happen that by the discovery of new evidence this may turn out to be the truth; and that, Mounteagle being hereafter shown by clear proof to have been privy and party to the plot, that very fact may raise a probable presumption that Mr. Bruce has assumed the proper date. But, in the mean time the burthen of proof in this respect lies upon Mr. Bruce, who has to maintain the somewhat startling proposition, that upon "*reading the letter* we shall be irresistibly led to the conclusion that Lord Mounteagle had a guilty knowledge of the plot, and earned his reward by betraying his companions." All that I propose to show is, that it is doubtful when it was written; that there is just as much reason to believe that it was written a few years earlier than September 1605, as that it was written exactly at that time; and consequently that it neither decides, nor at present tends to decide the question respecting Mounteagle's criminal implication in the plot, but leaves the evidence upon that subject precisely where it stood before the letter was discovered, and where it must remain until some fresh evidence has the effect of connecting this letter with the argument.

The assertion that the letter was written in September 1605 must rest mainly upon the undoubted fact that Catesby was about that time at Bath; and as neither he nor Mounteagle permanently resided there, that fact might perhaps furnish some ground for inferring that Mounteagle's letter of invitation and Catesby's visit were coincident in point of time, provided there were no other circumstances to oppose such an inference. But the force of this presumption will be materially affected, if not wholly destroyed,

when it is shown that Mounteagle and Catesby were very likely to have been at an earlier period in the position with respect to each other which the letter supposes.

I am not aware of any direct and positive proof that Catesby was at Bath, or at Lypiatt, at any other time than September 1605; but let us look at the well ascertained facts respecting his character and habits at this period. After his liberation from imprisonment on account of the Essex tumult, he had no settled abode; his wife was dead; he had sold his estates at Chastleton and Lapworth, and his time was principally spent in the houses of the Catholic gentry in different parts of the kingdom; his continual occupation, until the project of the Gunpowder Plot was matured, being the excitement of dangerous and extensive discontents among those of his own communion. Thus he was the busy mover of the conspiracy to effect an invasion, by Spain, and an insurrection among the English Catholics in 1602: he was one of those persons whom Camden describes^f as "hunger-starved" for innovation, who were arrested by the Privy Council a few days before Elizabeth's death: and he was the instigator of the treasonable mission of Christopher Wright to the King of Spain a few months after the accession of James. These habits and objects would naturally lead him to Bath, which at that time was much frequented by Catholic families. The Earl of Rutland, Lord Stourton, Sir Thomas Tresham, and several other distinguished Catholics are often mentioned in letters ranging from 1600 to 1605, as resorting with their families to "the Bath." For instance, in a letter of Sir Thomas Tresham's, now before me, dated the 2nd of June 1601, addressed to his daughter, Lady Stourton, at Bath, and sent to her by the hands of Francis Tresham, he desires "to be lovingly commended to his daughter Mounteagle,^g his daughter Webb (who had married a Catholic gentleman, Sir John Webb, of Odstock, in Wiltshire), and to Lord Stourton." Now Catesby's mother and Lady Tresham were sisters, daughters of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton, and consequently the Treshams

^f *Camdeni Epistolæ*, p. 349.

^g Lord Mounteagle was at that time in the Tower, on account of his participation in the insurrection of the Earl of Essex.

and Catesby were first cousins. It appears also, from some letters of the Tresham family still in existence, that being near neighbours, and the heads of the two families, Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir William Catesby, being frequently in confinement for recusancy under the rigorous laws of those days, the younger branches were brought up together in the strictest intimacy. Both families were nurtured amidst religious persecution, and its natural consequence, political disaffection. Francis Tresham, in particular, was educated with Catesby at Gloucester Hall^b in Oxford, then a favourite college among the more zealous Catholics, and was afterwards concerned with him in all the plots of the time. Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to suppose that Catesby was frequently to be found among his friends and relations at Bath, not only in the way of social intercourse, but also for the promotion of his treasonable designs.

For our present purpose, however, it is more material to consider the nature of Catesby's connexion with Lypiatt, at which place Mounteagle's letter is addressed to him; and for this purpose it is necessary to inquire who were the inhabitants of Lypiatt at the times to which the letter may by possibility be referred. Sir Robert Atkyns, in his *History of Gloucestershire*,ⁱ says, that "the manor of Lypiatt belonged to Throckmorton, *who was concerned in the Popish Powder-Plot*." Rudder, in his *History of the same county*, adopts this statement from Atkyns, and adds, that "they now shew a room in the manor-house where it is said that plot was concerted; but I don't remember (says he) that history takes notice of any one of the name of Throckmorton concerned in it." It is very true that in the published histories of the times, the name of Throckmorton does not appear as a conspirator in the plot; nevertheless, several of that family were involved

^b Dod, in his *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 380, says that "Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College) was a house very much suspected for their inclination towards the old religion, several of the sojourners there being privately of that communion."—In Fullman's MSS. at Corpus Christi College, vol. ii. are some notes relating to the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, and among them is this memorandum: "Catesby born (at Lapworth, I suppose,) in Warwickshire, about 1573; of Gloucester Hall in Oxford, October 27, 1586. Ætat. 14."—As to Francis Tresham, see Wood's *Ath. Ox.* vol. i. p. 754, edit. Bliss, where he is mentioned as being probably of Gloucester Hall.

ⁱ P. 368.

in it. One of Catesby's servants declares^j that, shortly before the discovery of the plot, his master received a letter out of the Low Countries from "one Thomas Throckmorton, who had been many times that summer in the company of the said Catesby." Sir Everard Digby, in an examination^k taken on the 2nd of Dec. 1605, says that "one Mr. Throckmorton, an old gentleman, whom he never saw before," was present at the hunting at Dunchurch on the 5th of November. One of Digby's servants likewise declares^l that his master was attended at the hunting on Dunsmoor Heath by "one master Throckmorton, an old man." This latter person, however, could not have been Throckmorton of Lypiatt; for it is impossible to suppose that any one so far involved in the plot as to have come to the rendezvous at Dunchurch, would have been allowed to retain his estates (as I shall show Throckmorton of Lypiatt to have done) for five years after this event, and then to have quietly sold them for a large sum of money. Still a continuing tradition, such as that mentioned by Rudder, connecting a particular locality with an event which excited such general consternation and inquiry as the Gunpowder Plot, and which occurred little more than two centuries ago, seems to me to be worthy of attention. In the several instances of Ashby St. Legers, Norbrook, Clopton, Chastleton, and White Webbs, such traditions have been recently discovered to be well-founded, though the connexion of those places with the conspiracy had never appeared in the common histories. I suspect, therefore, that Lypiatt was in some manner connected with the Gunpowder Plot as the permanent or occasional residence of some person engaged in it, or of some of his family; or that the tradition arose from the frequent resort of some of the more notorious conspirators to the place. If the Society or yourself have patience to follow me to the result of some researches I have made with a view to identify Throckmorton of Lypiatt, I think we may arrive at a probable conjecture respecting the origin of this tradition, and may at the same time throw some light upon the immediate subject of our inquiry.

^j Examination of Robert Askew, 6 November 1605. State Paper Office.

^k State Paper Office.

^l Examination of William Ellis, 21 November 1605. State Paper Office.

The manor of Lypiatt was held for several generations by the family of Wye. The last of that family who held it was Thomas Wye, who died in 1581, having devised his estates to his wife Julian for her life. Two years after his death Julian Wye married John Throckmorton, who purchased the interest of those entitled in remainder after his wife's death; and from 1583 until 1610, John Throckmorton held the lands of Lypiatt and occupied the mansion house; at the end of which time he sold both, together with some other property, for nearly £5,000, to Thomas Stephens, in whose family it remained until the middle of the last century.^m Here then we find Lypiatt in the possession of John Throckmorton during the whole period to which the letter directed to Catesby there can by possibility apply; embracing, indeed, the whole life of Catesby from his infancy to his death.

The next point to be ascertained is, who was this John Throckmorton? The presumption would be that he belonged to the Gloucestershire family, who, though derived from the same common ancestor as the Throckmortons of Warwickshire, to whom Catesby's mother belonged, branched off from them at least a century before the time we are considering; but in the deeds of conveyance to John Throckmorton, some of which are still in existence, the names of Thomas Throckmorton of Coughton and other members of the Warwickshire family are mentioned either as trustees and parties, or as witnesses to the payment of the purchase money. It may, therefore, fairly be concluded that he belonged to that family; if so, Catesby was his near relation, and, in those days when the bond of family connexion was much stronger than it is at the present time, would naturally be his frequent guest. But I cannot help thinking that we may advance a step further; and, although at this distance of time, and in a family, which, in that generation alone, consisted of 114 individuals, all grand-children of Sir George Throckmorton of Coughton, and in which John was rather a favourite name, it is not easy to fix with precision the individual possessor of Lypiatt, there is something more definite than mere conjecture to point

^m These facts I take from a muniment book containing copies of Court Rolls and Deeds belonging to the present possessor of Lypiatt.

out the particular person. I have gone through the pedigrees with some care, and can find only one John Throckmorton, who may not be clearly shown *not* to be the person in question, and with respect to that one, so many probabilities unite, as to induce a strong persuasion that he is the John Throckmorton of Lypiatt. The person I allude to was the eldest son of Anthony Throckmorton, of Chastleton, near Chipping Norton, in Oxfordshire, who was himself the eighth and youngest son of Sir George Throckmorton of Coughton.^a Catesby's mother, therefore, being a daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton, was first cousin to this John Throckmorton. But Catesby was also nearly related to him by his father's side; for Anthony Throckmorton married the widow of Catesby's grandfather, and John Throckmorton was the eldest of a numerous family, the issue of that marriage. And it is a curious fact, and shows the connexion of Catesby with this particular family, that upon the death of his grandmother in 1593 the estate and manor of Chastleton came, not to John Throckmorton, but to Catesby, who, after holding it, and residing there for a few years,^o sold it shortly before the period of the Gunpowder Plot to the ancestors of the family to whom it now belongs, and among whom there is a tradition that the gunpowder in the

^a See the pedigree in Nash's History of Worcestershire, vol. i. p. 452.

^o In the parish register of Chastleton is the following entry in 1595, "Robert Catesbie, the son of Robert Catesbie, was buried the 11th day of November." This was probably an infant son of the conspirator. The following note from Thomas Winter to his brother-in-law, John Grant, relates to a somewhat later period, and seems to show that Catesby was then also residing at Chastleton.

"If I may, with my sister's good leave, lett me entreat you, brother, to come over Saturday next to us at Chastleton, I can assure you of kind welcome, and your acquaintance with my cosin Catsby will nothing repent you. I could wish Doll heare, but our life is monasticall, without women. Commend me to your mother. And so a Dio!

Di T. S.

"Bring with you my Ragione di Statto.

Osservmo

"THO. WINTOUR."

The book here referred to was a political treatise, entitled "*Della Ragione di Stato*," then lately published by Giovanni Botero at Venice, and much read by the Catholics of that day; and the lady mentioned so familiarly was Grant's wife, Dorothea, who was a sister of Winter's.

cellar was bought with the purchase money. Again, this John Throckmorton had two sisters, who were married to Robert and Richard Acton of Ribbesford; and Robert Acton and his two sons were among the declared and open conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, being in arms with the rebels both at Dunchurch and at Holbeach, and only avoiding the fate of their companions by escaping beyond sea.

I do not maintain that the above facts amount to full proof that the John Throckmorton, thus curiously connected with Catesby by a double relationship, was the possessor of Lypiatt; but I think they establish a strong case of probability. Assuming this to be the fact, it cannot be considered unlikely that Catesby should be a frequent visitor at Lypiatt for several years before the catastrophe of the Gunpowder Plot.^p This circumstance, and the well-established fact, that the brother-in-law and nephews of the proprietor were actually implicated in the plot, would be quite sufficient to account for the traditional connexion of the manor-house at Lypiatt with that transaction. It is clear, indeed, that some facts must have been known to the Government, which relieved Throckmorton himself from suspicion;^q for circumstances of far less weight, than those above mentioned, as inferring a guilty knowledge of the plot, exposed others to rigorous examination, to long imprisonments, and heavy fines.

^p I have not sufficient knowledge of the domestic family at Lypiatt to justify me in seriously advancing the somewhat fanciful conjecture of a very learned and ingenious person, that the "watery nimpes" alluded to in the letter of Lord Mounteagle were the ladies of the house,—the "frogs," from the well-known and very ancient corruption of Throckmorton into Frogmorton. After all, however, Cowper's playful appellation of his friend may not have been original.

^q There was a John Throckmorton, who calls Catesby and Tresham his "cosins," and who, by means of the Howard family, negotiated the pardons of both of them for the Essex treason. I have in my possession a curious letter from this person to Sir Thomas Tresham, detailing the course of his negotiation with the Government through Lady Katharine Howard for Francis Tresham's discharge on that occasion. If this person was the possessor of Lypiatt, his intimacy with the Earls of Suffolk and Nottingham might shelter him from suspicion, or even point to a conjecture that he was employed as a spy. I am not, however, aware of any proof that he was the same person.

The only result which I venture to draw with some degree of confidence from the above remarks upon this part of the subject is, that there is no reason whatever to conclude from the fact that Lord Mounteagle's letter is addressed to Catesby at Lypiatt, that it was written in September 1605, inasmuch as he was just as likely to have been there at earlier periods as at that particular time.

With respect to the fact of Lord Mounteagle's presence at Bath anterior to the date which Mr. Bruce ascribes to his letter to Catesby, we are not left altogether to conjectural and presumptive evidence. I have already alluded to the fact of Lady Mounteagle being there in 1601; and I think the following characteristic letter from Thomas Winter will prove that Lord Mounteagle was at Bath, or on his way to Bath, at some period between that time and the year 1605. The letter, the original of which is at the State Paper Office, is addressed "To my loving brother, Mr. John Grant at Northbrook."

"I had thought to have come down before this, but business hath hitherto, and will yet longer keepe me awaye. I am now going to *Bath with my Lord Mounteagle*, and from thence into Lankeshire. My fortunes are so poore that they will not leave me mine owne man. If they did, Jack, thou shouldst have more of my company. Commend me to my sister, and waxse ritch. Newses are asleep. A Dio.

"London, this 22nd
of February."

"Your loving brother,

"THO. WINTOUR."

"My Lord Mounteagle will receave your brother betwixt this and Easter Tearme, at what time he goeth into Lankeshire."

Here then we find Mounteagle going to Bath on some 22nd February; and it is material to the question we are considering to fix the date of this letter of Winter's more precisely. It must necessarily have been written before the meeting between Catesby and Percy in September 1605, because Thomas Winter, the writer of the letter, and Grant, to whom it was addressed, were both executed for the Gunpowder Plot in January 1606. Again, it must have been written before the 22nd of February 1605, because it appears from the

statements of Fawkes and Thomas Winter^q that the latter was then at work with the five conspirators in the cellar. Nor could it have been written on the 22nd of February 1604, for Thomas Winter says^r he remained from Allhallontide (November) until the beginning of Lent (February 21) in that year with his brother in the country; when he came up to London by express invitation from Catesby, and was thence dispatched into the Low Countries. I cannot *prove* that the letter was not written in February 1603; but it is highly improbable that it was so, for the Queen was at that time on her deathbed, and a plot was then preparing, for which, within a week after the date of that letter, Catesby, Tresham, Baynham, and the two Wrights, were committed to prison by the Privy Council.^s In this busy time among the Catholics, it is unlikely that Winter would have represented to his brother-in-law that "news were asleep," and more unlikely that he and Lord Mounteagle would have absented themselves from London. In February 1602 the letter might have been, and, as I believe, *was* written; but it was impossible in 1601, as Mounteagle was then in the Tower, on account of his share in the Essex tumult.^t

Taking these minute facts into consideration, it must, I think, be admitted to be extremely probable that the letter from Winter to Grant was written in February 1602; and a moment's attention to the state of the parties and their designs at this precise point of time, may, perhaps, throw some light upon the date of Mounteagle's letter to Catesby. Elizabeth's life was drawing to a close; in anticipation of her death, Pope Clement VIII. sent two Breves to Garnet, the Superior of the English Jesuits, the purpose and express object of which was to excite the Catholics forcibly to resist the succession of any Protestant Sovereign.^u Garnet received these Breves shortly before Candlemas in the year before that in which the Queen died; that is, before the 7th of February 1602. He says he showed them at that

^q Gunpowder Treason, pp. 41, 54.

^r Ibid. p. 47.

^s Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 347.

^t Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 120.

^u The substance of these Breves is stated in two examinations of Garnet, dated on the 14th and 26th of March 1606, and now in the State Paper Office. See also Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 277-8.

time, and while "the going into Spain was treating," to Catesby, Tresham, and Thomas Winter, and that Catesby showed them to Lord Mounteagle.^x Now the "going into Spain," was the treasonable conspiracy formed by the above parties to invite the King of Spain to invade England with an army, and to assure him of the active co-operation of the English Catholics; the breves were used by Garnet and Catesby as the papal sanction to the undertaking; and it was arranged that Thomas Winter should go into Spain to negotiate the matter.^y In February 1602, therefore, this Spanish plot was in active preparation; and if Thomas Winter's letter to Grant is to be ascribed to this time, we find Lord Mounteagle and the proposed emissary to Spain in that state of affairs on their way to Bath; and we then only require the very probable supposition that Catesby, the promoter and ringleader of all these plots, was at that time at Lypiatt, to produce an impression, almost amounting to conviction, that this was the date of the letter discovered by Mr. Bruce. But I am advancing beyond my proposition, which only asserts that it is uncertain when the letter of Mounteagle was written, and consequently, that it does not justify the conclusion that "he was a party to the Gunpowder Plot, and betrayed his companions." I merely ask, therefore, why

^x The fact of the communication of these Breves to Mounteagle is contained in a remarkable confession of Garnet, which, in common with many other documents affecting Mounteagle, has disappeared from the State Paper Office, but is to be found at Hatfield. It is dated the 27th of March 1606, the day before his trial. I take it from some copies of Hatfield Papers in the Additional MSS. at the British Museum, No. 6178, p. 753.

"Garnet's Confession in his own hand.

"Mr. Tressam saw the Breves about the time that the going into Spaine was treating, that is, about Candlemass in the year before the Queen died. Mr. Percy saw them immediately before his going into Scotland the last time before the death of the Queen. As far as I can remember, Mr. Catesby did shew them to my Lo. Mounteagle at the same time when Mr. Tressam was with him at White Webbs, 27^o Martii.

"HENRY GARNETT."

^y Preamble to Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 2. In the original draft of this Statute at the State Paper Office, the consultations for this conspiracy are stated to have taken place in *February* 44 Eliz. (1602), though in the printed Statute the date given is *June* in the same year.

may not Mounteagle's invitation to Catesby as "the sun that must ripen their harvest," (if indeed it referred to any plot at all,) be as reasonably and probably ascribed to 1602, and the Spanish treason, as to 1605 and the Gunpowder Plot?

It was my intention to have included in this communication a summary of the evidence we now possess upon the question of Lord Mounteagle's criminal implication in the plot; but the remarks upon the letter have insensibly extended themselves to an unreasonable length. And as I am not aware of any conclusive evidence on the subject, the only use of such a summary would be to facilitate further inquiries, by exhibiting in one view all that we already know. Mr. Bruce, indeed, states that "he has been informed that there is an original examination of Garnet at Hatfield, in which Lord Mounteagle is directly implicated." If this be so, all argument is useless, as the question is at an end; but I apprehend that there must be some mistake in this respect, and that the examination of Garnet referred to must be the confession which I have above stated, in which he declares that the Pope's breves, upon which the Spanish conspiracy, as well as the Gunpowder Plot, was founded, were communicated by Tresham to Mounteagle. I am not myself acquainted with the collection at Hatfield, but its contents are well known, and selections have been made at various times by Murdin and other inquirers, eminently qualified for historical research, who could hardly have passed over without notice so important a paper as a confession of Garnet, directly implicating Lord Mounteagle as a confederate in the Gunpowder Plot.

In a little book, published by me some years ago, which Mr. Bruce does me the honour to mention with approbation, I stated that it "was not at all impossible, or improbable, that Mounteagle was privy to the plot."^{*} Subsequent inquiry and consideration have induced me to qualify the opinion thus somewhat carelessly expressed; and I should now say, that, although it is by no means proved to be impossible that this nobleman was a guilty confederate, the weight of evidence is at present in

^{*} Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 69.

his favour. It is, however, a most curious state mystery; and I am persuaded that, if the truth is ever discovered, it will not be by state papers, or recorded confessions and examinations. When such expert artists as Bacon and Cecil framed and propagated a state fiction in order to cover a state intrigue, they took care to cut off or divert the channels of history so effectually as to make it hopeless, at the distance of two centuries, to trace the truth by means of documents which have ever been in their control. If the mystery should hereafter be unravelled, it will probably be by the discovery of some letters or papers of a domestic nature, which either slumber in private repositories, or remain unnoticed in public collections, until they are brought to light by some judicious and discriminating inquirer.

I remain, my dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

DAVID JARDINE.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

VIII. *Observations on the historical evidence respecting the Implication of Lord Mounteagle as a Conspirator in the Gunpowder Treason. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by DAVID JARDINE, Esq., in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 11th February, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

Regent's Park,
February 1, 1841.

THE perusal of the curious letters of Thomas Winter and Lord Mounteagle, lately discovered by Mr. Bruce, suggested to my mind some remarks upon the historical effect of those letters which I have already submitted through you to the Society of Antiquaries. In my former communication I fully explained my reasons for thinking that the letter of Lord Mounteagle published by Mr. Bruce does not afford a solution of the problem respecting that nobleman's implication in the Gunpowder Plot; and I further expressed an opinion that the tendency of the evidence we now possess is to exonerate his character from the suspicion of having been in the first instance a party to the plot, and having afterwards betrayed his companions.

Assuming that the letter published by Mr. Bruce has not decided the controversy, and that the question is still open to discussion, I have thought it worth while to collect and examine the proofs upon this minute point in history, and I now submit the evidence and my remarks upon it to the consideration of the Society. My only object is to draw into a focus the scattered facts and arguments which may fairly be brought to bear upon the subject. I deduce no positive conclusion from them respecting the question at issue, and the only result upon which I rely is, that sufficient evidence has not as yet been produced to justify a confident opinion.

Although leading only to the conclusion that nothing ought at present to be concluded, I cannot consider the collection and revision of the facts as an useless labour. The statement and discussion of the existing materials may induce others to think and reason upon them, while the promotion of inquiry in the proper direction may possibly lead to the developement of new facts from sources hitherto unexplored.

The suspicion that Lord Mounteagle was himself one of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot arose soon after the authorised account of the mode of its discovery was made known. Several contemporary letters express hints of this kind; and the existence of such rumours appears clearly from Lord Salisbury's note of directions to Sir Edward Coke respecting his speech at the first trials, in which he particularly charges him to "deliver words in commendation of Lord Mounteagle to show how sincerely he dealt, because it is so lewdly given out that he was once of this plot of powder, and afterwards betrayed it all to me."^a I pass by these rumours, however, as the mere conjectures and gossip of the time, naturally arising upon an occurrence which formed the subject of universal conversation and speculation, and in which a character so equivocal as Lord Mounteagle appeared as a principal actor.

The first and most plausible argument to show that Mounteagle was criminally involved in the Gunpowder Plot is, that he sent letters by Sir Edmund Baynham, when that person was despatched by the conspirators to the Low Countries and to Rome in September 1605 for purposes connected with their main design. That Mounteagle did in fact send letters by Baynham appears to me to be clearly proved. In the interlocution^b between Garnet and Oldcorne in the Tower on the 23rd of February 1605, the former, relating the circumstances of his first examination by the Council, says, "I was afraid when they spake to me of Sir Edmund Baynham, that I should be asked somewhat of the letters of my Lord Mountague did write and send by him; but I hope they will not yet; perhaps hereafter they

^a Original Draft in State Paper Office. The whole note is printed in *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 120, note.

^b State Paper Office. *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 218.

will." That the word "Mountague" is here substituted for "Munteagle" (probably by the mistake of the persons who overheard the conversation) is proved by a subsequent statement of Oldcorne, who was particularly examined to this matter, and who confessed that, "upon one of the interlocutions, Garnet told him that the Lord Munteagle did write by Sir Edmund Baynham."^c This is made perfectly clear by a letter written some time afterwards by Oldcorne to the Lords of the Council, upon his being required to send them in writing full particulars of his conferences with Garnet in the Tower. In this letter,^d which is dated the 25th of March 1606, Oldcorne gives a more detailed account of what Garnet had told him about the mention of Lord Munteagle in his first examination; and I give the dialogue with the Council at length, because it furnishes one of the numerous indications of the anxiety of the Government to screen Munteagle from suspicion. "My Lord Chief Justice," says Oldcorne, who is reporting the substance of Garnet's relation to himself, "willed Mr. Garnett to name all he knew was acquainted with that journey" (the treasonable mission of Thomas Winter to the King of Spain in 1602); "and he named Mr. Thomas Winter, Father Tessimond,^e and another;—but I have forgot his name, but he is dead." "Yea," said my Lord, "ther was a fourth;"—and that was my Lord Munteagle. "I will not name him," said Mr. Garnett, "for he is alive." "You doe well therin," said Mr. Attorney, "and doe not name him." Wherby I gather, said Mr. Garnett, that they are willing to save my Lord Munteagle's credit. After this, my Lord charged him with Sir Edmond Baineham goeing ouer to Rome, and how he should carrie letters with him from a nobleman in this land, and, as I think, Mr. Garnett named my Lord Munteagle unto me." The subject of Munteagle's sending letters by Baynham is alluded to in another interlocution^f between Garnet and Oldcorne on the 25th of February 1606, in which Garnet says, "They pressed me with a question, what noblemen I knew that have written any letters to

^c Oldcorne's examination, 6 March 1605-6. State Paper Office.

^d From the original in the State Paper Office.

^e This was one of the names of Greenway.

^f Tresham is the third person here alluded to.

^g Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. lxxv. p. 292. Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 219.

Rome, and by whom? Well, I see they will justify my Lord Mounteagle of all this matter. I said nothing of him, neither will I ever confess him. I will write to-day or to morrow to let them know that I am resolved to do my Lord no hurt." Oldcorne describes this part of the conference also in the letter of the 25th of March above mentioned:—"Mr. Garnett told me," says he, "that he hoped he should have meanes within the two or three daies to write to our friends, and then they should see that he would do my Lorde noe harme; and that was, as I imagine, my Lord Mounteagle."

Now this evidence seems to me sufficiently to establish the fact that Mounteagle wrote letters by Baynham, either to Flanders or to Rome, and that he should write by such a messenger upon the very eve of the intended execution of the plot, is no doubt a most suspicious circumstance. If it stood alone, and uncontradicted by circumstances tending to an opposite conclusion, it would amount to reasonable historical proof that he was privy to the object of the conspirators in despatching Baynham,—especially when coupled with the ambiguous language used by Garnet respecting him. On the other hand, the Government do not appear to have considered that Mounteagle's sending letters by Baynham tended to implicate him in the plot, or to injure his character with the public. In all documents and inquiries relating to the Spanish conspiracy in 1602 his name is carefully erased or suppressed; but there is no attempt at concealment in any of the numerous instances in which he is expressly mentioned as sending letters by Baynham; and the interlocutions between Garnet and Oldcorne, and the examinations of both of them, in which this fact is alluded to, are in this respect entire and perfect, and appear to have been read at the trial of Garnet without any reservation or mutilation. It is possible, therefore, that the letters given to Baynham by Lord Mounteagle may have been well understood at the time to have had no reference to the Gunpowder Plot as far as the latter was concerned. Catesby and Garnet always stated to those who were not admitted into their secret councils, that the only object of Baynham's mission was to represent to the Pope the general grievances and persecutions of the English Catholics; and it may have been under a pretence of this kind, and without any communication of the real purpose for which they were to be employed, that Baynham, who was an

old friend of Mounteagle, and was associated with him in the Essex insurrection, obtained from him letters of introduction or of general recommendation to English Catholics residing in Flanders or at Rome. Thus, although in the case of Garnet the sending letters by Baynham was convincing evidence of his guilt, because he was previously acquainted with the design, the fact is by no means equally conclusive with respect to Mounteagle, because there is no proof that he was previously apprised of the nature of the plot, or the particular object of Baynham's mission. Indeed, it is not quite certain that Baynham himself was entrusted with the great secret of the plot. He is never mentioned by any of the examiners as a sworn conspirator; he was a rash, turbulent, intemperate man,—the captain of the "Damned Crew,"—and so well known as such, that Thomas Winter expressly says to Bates, that "he was not a man fit for the business at home, but that they had otherwise employed him by sending him to Rome."[§] It is extremely probable, from the statements of Fawkes and several other conspirators by whom Baynham is mentioned, that he was sent to Rome ostensibly with general intelligence of the distressed condition of the English Catholics, though really in order that he might be at hand as a kind of ambassador from the conspirators to act for them in negotiating with the Pope after the design was executed; but that he was to be first informed of the particulars of the plot upon his arrival in Flanders.

The great disproportion of the reward bestowed upon Mounteagle to the actual service rendered by him has also been supposed to justify the inference that he must have received it as the consideration for his treachery to his confederates. He received £500 per annum for his life, and £200 in fee-farm rents; and no doubt, upon the supposition that the only service he rendered was delivering to the Council an obscure anonymous letter, which he did not understand, he would have been so extravagantly overpaid that we should be compelled to conclude that the payment was intended to reward other services, the nature of which it was not convenient to declare to the public. But let us consider whether Mounteagle may not have earned this am-

[§] Examination of Thomas Bates 13th January 1605-6. State Paper Office. Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 282.

ple remuneration by other services than treachery to his friends, which is implied in the supposition that he had been a consenting party to the conspiracy. Few persons at the present day, who attentively consider the celebrated letter to Lord Mounteagle, will believe that the discovery of the plot originated in that letter. Scarcely, indeed, had the consternation subsided, which had been produced by the declaration of so monstrous a treason, when the minds of contemporaries were awakened to the absurdities and improbabilities of the story related in the "*Discourse of the manner of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.*" Thus, Osborne calls the whole story of the letter a "neat device" of Cecil's;^h and many considerations, which I do not here attempt to enumerate, tend to confirm the opinion expressed by Greenway, in his *Narrative*, that the particulars of the plot had been fully revealed to Lord Salisbury by Mounteagle, who was supposed by Greenway and the conspirators to have received a direct communication from Tresham; and that the letter was a mere contrivance of the Government to conceal the means by which their information had really been obtained. If this were so, there was a great deal more in Mounteagle's conduct to be rewarded than the mere delivery of the anonymous letter to the Council. He not only reveals the intended treason to the Government, sacrifices his relations and most intimate friends, and prevents a tremendous national calamity, but he becomes a party to a state intrigue, in which the King himself was a main performer, and respecting which it was of essential importance that Mounteagle should be bound to inviolable secrecy. Under these circumstances, it can hardly, I think, be said that, with reference to his executed services to the nation and the Government, or his future obligations, his remuneration was greatly beyond his deserts.

Another circumstance which has been supposed to indicate Mounteagle's privity to the Gunpowder Treason is the anxious care manifested by the Government to keep from the public view all the evidence which criminally affected him. There are several instances in the State Paper Office of the erasure of his name from original depositions; and the conversation at the Council Board upon Garnet's examination, as related in the letter of Oldcorne, which I have above referred to, proves the same fact. But it is important to remark that all the instances in which Mounteagle's name is

^h *Memorials of the Reign of King James*, p. 13.

mentioned by the conspirators in the Powder Treason (excepting his supposed connexion with Baynham's mission, and another instance which I shall presently notice), refer exclusively to his concern in the Spanish conspiracy in 1602. Tresham, Thomas Winter, and Garnet, who were the only surviving confederates in that treason, (excepting Greenway, who had escaped,) unreservedly mention Mounteagle as a party to it, whenever they are examined upon the subject; but neither they, nor Fawkes, nor any other examiners or witnesses mention him in direct terms as privy to the Powder Plot, or ever allude to him as a party to any treasonable conspiracy subsequent to James's accession. This consideration appears to me to be extremely material, not only as affecting the argument for Mounteagle's implication in the Gunpowder Plot derived from the conduct of the Government in this respect, by showing that the desire to screen him referred to a different imputation, but also as furnishing a positive argument that he was not in truth concerned in that plot. For why should Garnet, or Tresham, or Winter, who had each of them accused Mounteagle of one capital treason, previously unknown to the Government, have abstained from charging him with participating in the Gunpowder Plot, if such had really been the fact? It was quite natural that they should deny, and hesitate, and equivocate, when called upon to accuse each other; but they could have had no sympathy for Mounteagle, and no desire or interest to shelter him from suspicion or punishment. On the contrary, if he really was one of the sworn conspirators, they must have regarded him either as a spy, who had been sent among them by the Government, or as a perfidious accomplice, who had broken the solemn oath of secrecy, had treacherously betrayed his companions, and had saved himself by sacrificing them. And yet, among the hundreds of examinations upon this subject at the State Paper Office, there is not a single allusion to Mounteagle as an accomplice in any treason later than the Spanish conspiracy in 1602, excepting the obscure and equivocal suggestion of his interference in Baynham's mission, which does not, as I think for the reasons above stated, necessarily imply that he was a criminal party to the plot.

There is, however, a very remarkable instance of an omission of Mounteagle's name in a letter of Thomas Winter, which, although it seems to me to be capable of explanation without involving Mounteagle as a conspirator,

is certainly deserving of attention in forming an opinion on the subject. The "Discourse of the manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason," printed by the King's printer, and published as the Government version of the story, immediately after the occurrence of the event which it professes to narrate, contains a confession of Thomas Winter dated the 23rd of November 1605. The copy from which this paper was printed still exists at the State Paper Office, in the handwriting of Levinus Muncke, Lord Salisbury's secretary; and it is very probable that this identical copy was submitted to the King for his approval previously to its publication, as he has noted with his own hand in a part of the margin what he designates as "an uncleare phrase."ⁱ The original paper is at Hatfield, and a copy from that original is at the British Museum.^k In this confession, as published by the Government, Winter says that, about ten days before the 5th of November, Catesby desired him to ascertain whether the young Prince would come to the Parliament. "I told him," says Winter, according to the published confession, "that I heard his Grace thought not to be there." But in the copy at the British Museum, and no doubt in the original, are these words: "I told him that as my Lord Mounteagle passed by Richmond, he went in to kiss the Prince's hands, and, amongst other speeches, understood that his Grace thought not to be there." The fact here disclosed by Winter is in several respects important in the history of the transaction, for Mounteagle is shewn in these few lines to have been familiar with the Royal Household, and also to have furnished important information to the conspirators on the very eve of the consummation of their design. At the same time, the Government display an evident anxiety to suppress this occurrence by striking the whole passage out of the document, and publishing it in its garbled state without the allusion to Mounteagle. These facts furnish many grounds for specu-

ⁱ See Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 6, and p. 147.

^k Additional MSS. No. 6178, p. 581. That the copy of this document in the State Paper Office was that from which the confession of Winter in the "King's Book" was printed, is demonstrated by the fact that several remarkable clerical errors in the copy, not to be found in the original, are faithfully adopted by the printer. For instance, in the original confession Winter says, "we feared of all the world that France, with the shipping of Holland, might most annoy us." These last words in the copy at the State Paper Office, and in both editions of the printed book, are "might make away with us."

lation as to the precise manner in which the plot was discovered by the instrumentality of Lord Mounteagle, and they tend strongly to support the opinion that it was not discovered by means of the celebrated letter; but they do not appear to me to prove that Mounteagle was an accomplice in the plot. He was intimate with Winter, and seems to have retained him about his person as a kind of secretary. It was, therefore, not improbable that he might have mentioned the circumstance of his visit to Richmond, and the Prince's intentions about coming to Parliament in casual conversation, without being aware that he was furnishing useful intelligence to the conspirators. And a desire not to bring this fact too prominently to the notice of the King, or an apprehension of publishing in a book, which was to be industriously distributed on the Continent as well as in England, any matter which might excite suspicions of Lord Mounteagle, were either of them a sufficient inducement to Cecil to suppress the statement. It was in fact a part of the same policy which dictated his instructions to the Attorney-General for his speech on the trials.

Another fact in some degree bearing upon the point in question, though not, as I think, entitled to much weight in this respect, deserves to be mentioned. It appears from the Lords' Journals, that Lord Mounteagle was one of the Commissioners for proroguing the Parliament on the 3d of October, 1605, but that he was not a Commissioner on occasion of the immediately preceding prorogation on the 7th of February. On comparing the two commissions, I find that two other Peers, Lord Lisle and Lord Exeter, were likewise added on the second occasion; but as both of them were raised to the peerage in the interval, their insertion in the more recent commission may perhaps be accounted for on that ground. This reason, however, could not apply to Mounteagle, who had been called to Parliament nearly two years before. It might then be surmised, that Mounteagle having revealed the plot to the Government before the 3d of October, and the fact that the powder was then stored in the cellar being known, it was deemed prudent to secure the Lords who might assemble for the prorogation from the effects of any possible treachery, by sending the accomplice into the danger with them. The circumstance is no doubt a remarkable one in the history of this conspiracy, and deserves for many reasons particular attention; but I do not see that it necessarily leads to the conclusion that Mounteagle was an accomplice in the

plot. James and his Council having received their information from such a suspicious quarter as the near relation and friend of several of the conspirators, and being aware of the contents of the cellar, may naturally have esteemed it a proper precaution, when they assembled the Lord Chancellor and other great officers of state, with many Peers, in this place of danger, to ensure Mounteagle's fidelity in the manner above suggested.

Let us now consider the ascertained facts which tend to show that Lord Mounteagle was not concerned in the Gunpowder Plot as a conspirator.

In the first place, we have the fact already referred to, that, although several of the avowed conspirators accuse him, without reserve or hesitation, of assisting in the contrivance of the Spanish treason, not one of them directly charges him with being privy to the Powder Plot. The argument is materially strengthened by the silence of Greenway upon the same subject. Whether Greenway himself was the writer of the curious Narrative which Dr. Lingard ascribes to him, or not, it contains abundant internal evidence that it was written by some Jesuit who was present at the consultations of the conspirators, and was familiar with all the details and machinery of the plot. It is also evident that it was composed abroad, and was probably intended to justify to the Pope and to all Catholics the conduct of the Jesuits in the transaction. In describing the discovery of the plot, the writer of this Narrative thus alludes to Mounteagle: "Among the titled Lords of Parliament was one named Baron Mounteagle, who either was actually a Catholic in opinion and in the interior of his heart, or was very well disposed towards the Catholics, being a friend of several of the conspirators, and related to some of them. To him, ten days before the meeting of Parliament, a letter was delivered in the following manner, &c." He then goes on to relate the circumstances of the delivery of the letter to Mounteagle, and its communication by him to Lord Salisbury, nearly in the same order and to the same effect as they are told in the "King's Book." He gives some very pertinent reasons for believing that the discovery could not have been made by means of the well-known letter; and among his conjectures respecting the means by which the discovery actually took place, he says, "Many have judged that Francis Tresham was less wanting in cunning (*sapere fare il fatto suo*) than in fidelity to his friends, and that before that letter was

written, he had either revealed the matter to the Baron (Mounteagle), and he to the Council, or that Tresham himself discovered it to the Council, hoping by such a service to obtain the honours and dignities to which it would entitle him. The letter," he adds, "was merely an invention to cover Tresham's treachery, and to declare to the world the wisdom of the King in being able to interpret and penetrate so obscure and hidden a mystery."¹ It seems to me to be impossible that any one who reads this Narrative can entertain a doubt, that, if Mounteagle had been a party to the conspiracy, the writer must have known it. He speaks of the most secret resolves and consultations of the confederates, sometimes as having been himself present, and sometimes as having received his information from themselves; he tells of their dreams, their misgivings of conscience, their superstitious fears, their doubts of one another, upon all of which he gave them his advice, or spiritual assistance; and he describes their persons, their ages, and their domestic relations, with a minute accuracy which demonstrates his intimate familiarity with them.^m It must be added, too, that suspicions of *Tresham's* fidelity are related by this writer as having been confidentially expressed to him by Catesby, or reported to him by Garnet as having been entertained by Catesby. One so familiar with the thoughts of the principal conspirators must have been aware of a fact of such vital importance as the privy of Mounteagle to the plot; and if he was aware of it, he could not have speculated in the dark, as he has done, respecting the mode in which the plot was discovered, nor have spoken of Mounteagle in the language above stated. The motive of acquiescing in the views of the Council, which influenced Garnet in determining "to do my Lord no hurt," could have had no weight with Greenway, who was writing his Narrative at Rome. On the other hand, he would not have failed to denounce his treachery in terms of reproach, as he actually does in the case of Tresham, whom he supposes to have been the betrayer.

¹ Greenway's MS. p. 67.

^m I have compared Greenway's information in this respect with the genealogical and domestic history of the families of the conspirators as contained in the Visitation Books, County Histories, and published and unpublished correspondence of the time; and I have not detected him in a single inaccuracy.

It is not merely the absence of any charge or accusation of Mounteagle by the conspirators which tends to exculpate him from any criminal participation in the Gunpowder Plot; there are expressions in the examinations which plainly show that some of the leaders in the plot—even Catesby and Percy—did not know that he was a confederate; which, if the fact had been so, seems altogether incredible. Thus, in an examination taken on the 11th of November, 1605,^a Fawkes relates a conversation which took place between several of the principal conspirators as to the Catholic Peers who were to be saved by some timely warning; he says, "He himself did name the Lord Mountague and others; Catesby did name the Lord Mordaunt and others; and Thomas Percy did name the Earl of Northumberland and *Lord Mounteagle*." Again, in an examination taken on the 16th of November, 1605,^o Fawkes says "that he understood, by Catesby and Winter, that Francis Tresham and they had some contention about the Lord Mounteagle, Tresham having been exceeding earnest to have his Lordship warned to be absent from the Parliament." Now, if these statements of Fawkes are to be believed (and I know no motive or reason which could lead him to speak falsely in this respect), the facts he mentions appear to me, I confess, to demonstrate that Mounteagle was not a party to the conspiracy. For he represents four out of the five acknowledged and leading conspirators,—two of them, Catesby and Winter, being, as Fawkes says, "the persons who first devised the plot, and were the chief directors of all the particularities appertaining to the same,"—acting as they never could have done if they had known Mounteagle to be a party to the design. He states that Percy nominated Mounteagle to the confederates as one of the Lords to be saved, and that Catesby and Winter actually contended with Tresham—Mounteagle's brother-in-law—about the propriety of giving the latter warning to be absent from Parliament; and by such contention, as Catesby well knew, endangered the discovery of the whole plan.

In forming a judgment upon this question, it is very material to consider the position of Lord Mounteagle at the period of the Gunpowder Plot. It appears to me that with reference to the motives which usually influence the conduct

^a Tanner MSS. in Bibl. Bodl. vol. lxxv. p. 319.

^o State Paper Office.

of men (excepting indeed religious enthusiasm, which does not seem to have been a feature in Lord Mounteagle's character,) he was not likely to have entered into a conspiracy for the destruction of the existing Government. Of his personal disposition and habits we know very little. The letter published by Mr. Bruce is not sufficiently characteristic to justify any opinion respecting him; and the same remark applies to several letters from him to Lord Salisbury, praying for his enlargement when confined for his share in the Essex conspiracy. As far as we can judge from the scanty notices of him in the correspondence of the time, he was not remarkable for intelligence or personal influence of any kind; and after the period of the Plot, he became a mere courtier, playing rather a distinguished part at masques and tournaments, performing the ceremonies at court amusements, and attending upon court visitors from foreign countries.^p His father, Edward Lord Morley, was well received at court, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and sat as a Peer on the trials of Mary Queen of Scots, and of the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Essex. Mounteagle remained in custody for the Essex House Treason, either in the Tower or at private houses, until the end of the year 1601; in February, 1602, we find him reading the Pope's breves against a Protestant successor to Elizabeth, and plotting with Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, respecting the mission of Thomas Winter into Spain.^q Immediately after the death of Elizabeth, however, he warmly espoused the title of James, as Sir Thomas Tresham, and many other

^p Many instances of his employment on occasions of these several kinds will be found in Nichols's Progresses, &c. of James I. Vol. ii.

^q It appears from the Council Books, that Lord Mounteagle was discharged from the Tower on the 5th of August, 1601, when he was delivered into the private custody of his relation, Mr. John Leventhorpe, at his house called Shingley Hall, near Bishop's Stortford, in Hertfordshire (Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 181 b, and Mounteagle's Letter to Cecil, from Shingley, dated 27th Sept. 1601, in the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 6177). On the 29th of November in the same year, the Council Books show that he was transferred to the custody of Mr. Newport, at his house at Bethnal Green, with liberty to walk within two or three miles of the house; "but so as in no wyse to repaire unto London." The exact date of his discharge does not appear; but it must have been soon after this last change of custody, as Garnet speaks of his seeing the Breves at White Webbs, about Candlemas, 1602.

Catholics of distinction did, and assisted the Earl of Southampton in promptly taking possession of the Tower for the King's use.^r In James's first Parliament, assembled in March, 1604, he was called to the House of Lords by his mother's title: and the Journals prove, that during the whole of that Parliament he assiduously attended to his public employments. Though there is no direct proof of the fact, the occasional notices of him in contemporary papers authorise a conjecture that he held some ceremonial office at court,—probably in the household of Queen Anne. For instance, in a declaration of Sir Edward Bushell, vindicating himself from a suspicion of being concerned in the Powder Plot, he states, that a few months before the 5th of November, 1605, he had “written to my Lord Mounteagle and Sir Thomas Somerset (who was the Queen's Master of the Horse^s) to be excused to the Queen that he could not so soon come up as she commanded.” The circumstance of his calling at Richmond to kiss the Prince's hands, seems to countenance a conjecture of this kind. However this may have been, he had certainly good interest at court before the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, as it appears from a letter of De Beaumont, the French Ambassador, dated the 17th of September, 1605, that James was induced to solicit as a favour from the French King, the enlargement of a brother of Mounteagle, who was imprisoned at Calais for some violent outrage committed there;—a request which the French King very reluctantly complied with.^t Taking all these facts respecting Mounteagle into consideration, and bearing in mind that there is no trace of any meetings or conferences, or indeed of any intimate connexion between him and the parties involved in the Gunpowder Plot, since Elizabeth's death, it is reasonable to infer that, after the accession of James, being noticed and encouraged by the Court, he chose rather to play the game of personal ambition as a courtier than to join the desperate courses of Catesby and his companions; and

^r Petition Apologetical of the Lay Catholics of England (supposed to have been written by Sir Thomas Tresham.)

^s Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 209. I should state, however, that neither in the paper published by Lodge, nor in a list of the Queen's Household Officers of a later date (August 16, 1604) in the State Paper Office, does Mounteagle's name appear.

^t *Dépêches de Monsr. De Beaumont.*

that, following the party of the Howards and Lord Southampton, he became one of those "tame ducks," whom the artful policy of the King and Lord Salisbury made use of, as James himself stated, "in order to decoy the wild ones."^u

I have now stated what appear to me to be the leading views which may be taken on both sides of this question. Other arguments have occurred to me, but I do not venture to extend a dissertation which I have already carried to a much greater length than I intended. Upon a careful review of the whole subject, I adhere to the opinion expressed in my former letter, namely, that at present the tendency of the evidence is to prove that Mounteagle was not an accomplice in the Gunpowder Plot. At the same time, it must be admitted, that none of the above arguments are entirely conclusive; and it may, therefore, well happen that the discovery of new evidence may totally reverse the impressions produced by the facts which have been hitherto ascertained.

I remain, my dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

DAVID JARDINE.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

^u De Beaumont relates, that some of the more strenuous of the Protestants having remonstrated with James upon his retaining several Catholics in his Council and about the Court at the beginning of his reign, "il leur a respondu qu'avec un canard privé, il eseroit d'en prendre beaucoup de sauvages."—*Dépêches de Monsieur de Beaumont.*

IX. *Description of an Egyptian Tomb now preserved in the British Museum. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Assistant in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum, Corresponding Member of the Archæological Institute of Rome.*

Read 12th December, 1839.

AMONG the objects acquired by the British Museum, in the year 1836, from the magnificent collection of the late Mr. Salt,^a were parts of some tombs, taken from the vast cemetery in the immediate vicinity of the Pyramids at Gizeh. Portions of these comprise two false doors, apparently from the same tomb, each being nearly a fac-simile of the other; and they contain the name and titles of the functionary for whom the tomb was excavated or erected, with the prenomen of the monarch during whose reign the individual lived, and other indications, such as style and composition of the hieroglyphical texts, of having been executed soon after the period when the Pyramids were erected. The replacing together of the separate pieces, as they at present exist among the other monuments of the national collection, has been executed from drawings made by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, who saw them in their original state, previous to their removal by Mr. Salt; and the interest which attaches to every attempt of collating the royal names found in this vicinity with the lists of the Greek authors, entitles them to the most profound attention of the archæologist.

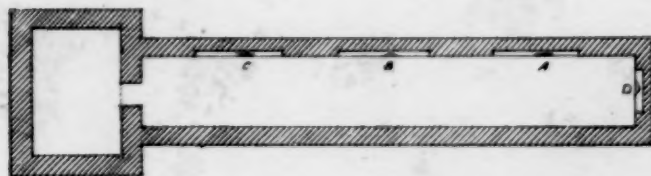
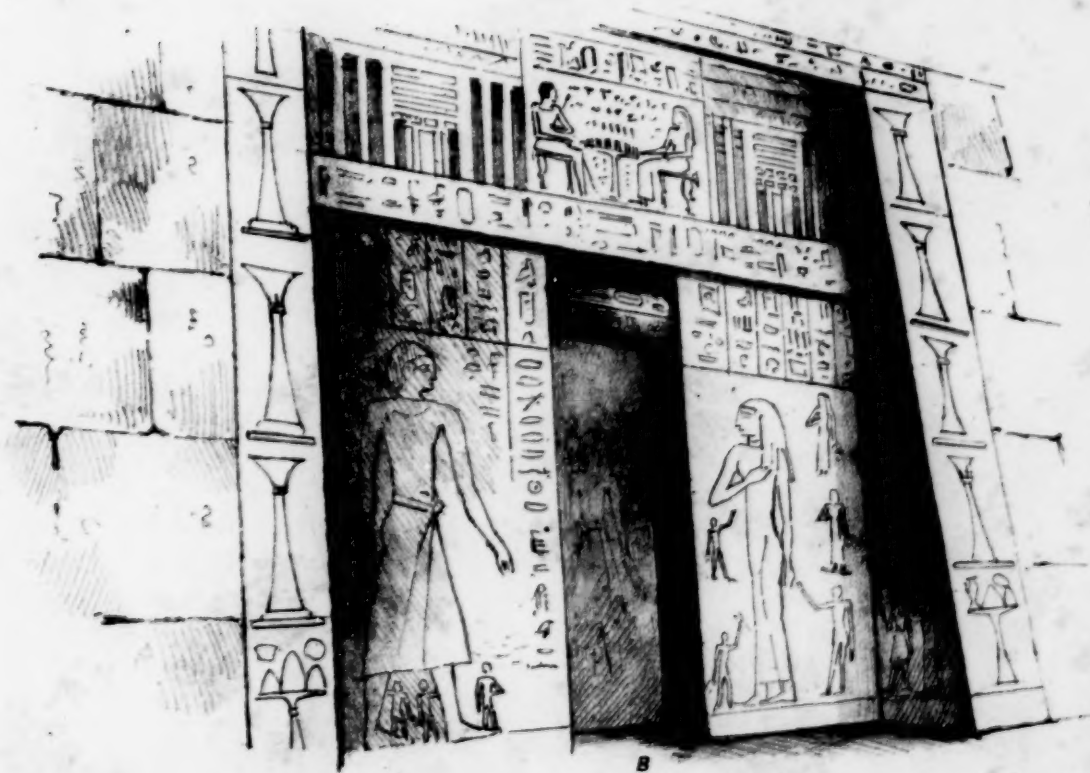
In the care which the Egyptians took of the dead, the indication of the place of the deposit of the deceased was a very important part; and half of the monuments brought to Europe consist of objects employed for that purpose, as steles, tablets, coffins, and the smaller articles used in the personal preservation of the dead. Yet, allied with the care of their tombs was a cer-

^a Cf. Sale Catalogue, Lot 1268^a.

tain degree of jealousy relative to the site, from motives of a policy which can be easily appreciated: consequently, while the general site of the vault or tomb was indicated by steles sculptured or reveted into the rock, the true entrance was a secret deposited with the family. The present monument (see Plate XIV.) is a most striking instance of this fact: for the laboured decorations and inscriptions with which it is covered belong, not to the real entrance, but to two false doors of the tomb itself, as is apparent from the width of the narrow rectangular aperture, through which it would have been impracticable to have introduced the coffin containing the embalmed body of the deceased; and it is evident that they must have been executed for purposes ornamental or religious, rather than useful.^b In point of execution they are archaic even for Egyptian work; considerably more so than the style usually prevalent under the domination of the Osortasens; for the disposition of the hair and attire, the squared and finished manner, not un-mixed with the rough grandeur which usually accompanies the progress of art, must demonstrate to all acquainted with the peculiarities of Egyptian workmanship, an epoch of high antiquity. The attitude of the larger figures, although cold and still when compared with the efforts of Greek genius, is calm and not inelegant; and the manner in which the wife of the deceased and female members of the family place their hands, recalls to mind one of the ordinary attitudes represented on the early bronzes and the fictile Græco-Italian vases, the raising of the corner of the peplon. The details of the parts representing portcullises or doorways are also extremely good; and the light and airy tracery which approaches the arabesque, well contrasts with the plain and severe expression of the other portions. The effect of the whole has originally been aided by colour, traces of which remain in the incused parts;^c and the high dignity of the officer for whom it was made renders it a very touchstone of the extent to which the cavo-relievo style was carried during the epoch of the Memphite dynasty who erected the pyramids. It can be paralleled with respect to age with but few of the monuments of the National

^b The accompanying plan and drawing of their appearance, (Plate XIII.) as seen in the tomb, which was a sunk one, with the shafts or wells over which the false doors stood, I owe to the kindness of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, who has allowed me to add them to the present paper.

^c Black and red—the hieroglyphics were coloured black.



Egyptian Tomb from the Cemetery near the Pyramids at Gizeh

J. B. Zucco

Collection; and the coffin of Mycerinus, the nearest approach to it in point of time,^d manifests considerable difference of style from this monument.

The part marked A (Plate XIV.) indicates the false door, B and C the jambs of the door. On the jamb to the left (B), the deceased is represented having his head shorn, and covered with a kind of skullcap. On his neck is a collar (*oskh*), and round his loins a tunic, probably the kind called Basoui, not the shenti. His hands are placed vertically by his sides, and his right holds a level, placed between the right hand and little finger. At his feet, of diminished proportion, are his two children and grandchild; each of whom is likewise shorn, and wears the hair gathered into a single lock behind, a fashion peculiar to this period. They are all naked, each holding in his left hand a water fowl, the second his father's advanced leg, and the last his right leg. The hieroglyphical texts in this part contain merely the names and titles of the members of the family, the two large lines "*the royal purificatory priest(?)* or orator, *Tot, attached to his lord always (every day)*"—the others, scattered around the smaller figures—"*the royal priest his son Haröeri...; his son Shefreosh; his son's son Phtahousr.*" On the jamb to the right (C) is his wife Tebt, or Touit, standing with her left arm pendant, and right placed under her breast. Her hair is long and in straight locks; around her neck are two collars (*oskh* or *hibnir*), a long tunic descending to her ankles, armlets and bracelets (*manoufre en shboi*), and anklets (*manoufre en rat*). Behind her, of diminished size, and in a perpendicular line, stand her two daughters and grandchildren, respectively named Shefrenofre, Shefrenofre, and Ousrouteska(ou) and Totkougi. It is evident, from this portion, that the same manner of balancing to the eye has been adopted as in the glyptic art of the Greeks; the figures face inwards, and are equal on each side. In the centre A was a figure painted only.

The inscriptions upon the architrave, both of the vaulted (D) and flat portion (E), contain the names and additional titles of the two. Thus on the convex part of the architrave, (D) "*the person attached to the great pyramid(?) of the king Shafre, the superintendent of the tomb, attached to the hall of*

^d It is to be observed that the reigns of Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus cover the space of a century and a half. Also compare steles D'Anastasi, Nos. 10, 11, for the striking difference remarkable even in one reign.

time, and receive great illustration from contemporaneous and later monuments. Among the former may be cited fragments of similar tombs in the National Collection; and those lithographed in the *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* of Mr. Burton; and among the latter the hieroglyphical inscriptions of the era of the XXVI. dynasty, and their successors, who revived many of the titles and offices of the earlier line. The name of the monarch, during whose reign the functionary *Tat* lived, which confers upon these tombs an historical interest, has been already published by Messrs. Rosellini^g and Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson,^h without any indication of the place he should hold in the succession, compared with the lists of Eratosthenes or Manetho; while Dr. Leemans,ⁱ upon data too slight to be conclusive, would assign the cartouche to the King Rauosis. In the extension of a new theory of the mode of reading prenomen in the collation of the Greek lists, which I pointed out in the instance of the King Menkare,^j viz. the placing the dominant disk of the sun last, the name should be read Shafre or Shafra; and M. Lenormant^k recognises in it that of Kephren or Chephren, the brother and successor of Cheops, the builder of the second pyramid. Although this result may be correct, certain difficulties occur in comparing the hieroglyphical elements of which the cartouche is composed, with the Greek names Chephren, Kephren, or Chabruis,^l which appear to be the prenomina or dialectical variations of Suphis II.; for the application of the central symbol (Plate XV. fig. 1.) is restricted to the Coptic ϩ or Ϭ , which appears to have been but rarely changed into χ , while its homophone (fig. 9.), in the name of Cheops, indifferently represented the Ϭ , Ϭ , or ϩ .^m In that case the name could not apply to the Greek transcription, while the

^g *Monumenti Storici*. 8vo. Pis. 1832. Tom. i. tav. i. no. 1.

^h *Materia Hieroglyphica*, 4to. Malt. 1828. Pl. of unplaced Kings.

ⁱ *Monumens Egyptiens, portants de legendes royaux*, &c. 8vo. Leide, 1838, p. 20.

^j Hieroglyphics on the coffin of Mycerinus, found in the third Pyramid at Gizeh. *Folio*, 1838.

^k *Eclairciss. sur le Cercueil de Roi Mycerinus*, 4to. Par. 1839, p. 40.


^l Herod. ii. 127, 128. Diod. Sic. lib. i. sec. 64.

^m Cf. Champoll. *Gr. Eg.* p. 44 n. 195, &c. *Salvol. An. Gram. Alph.* It occurs in ϩ Ϭ the gullet, and ϩ Ϭ ϩ , a cat. Cf. Champ. l. c. p. 371, rarely, however, as Ϭ in Ϭ Ϭ Ϭ to clothe. Papyrus, British Museum.

locality in which it is found, and other circumstances connected with it, apparently ally it with the fourth or Memphite dynasty of Manetho. Still less, however, can this prenomen on account of the ideographic exactitude be identified with the one assigned by Dr. Leemans to the monarch Raouosis, contrary to the analogy of the composition of royal prenomens, since it must at least belong to another monarch. The name of this monarch, Shafre, may however be satisfactorily attributed to one of the pyramid builders of the fourth or Memphite dynasty, and the only question is with regard to Sephres, or Chefren, since the name of the builder of the second pyramid once occurs as Chabruis, and there is no evidence to shew that prenomens and names were not used prior to the sixteenth dynasty. The cartouche is unaccompanied by any of the usual indications of royal power, but is followed by two symbols, the first a swallow, the second a pyramid. These have been supposed to mean "*great pyramid*,"^m an interpretation which admits of some discussion, since one inscription interposes the genitive affix, the undulating line, between the swallow and the pyramid,ⁿ which might give the meaning as "*great of the pyramid*"—"the chief, the head of the pyramid," possibly be the title of the monarch. Admitting this construction, the functionary Tot is merely attached to Shafre, chief of the pyramid, and this interpretation has been strengthened by the grammatical fact of adjectives being suffixed to their nouns; a rule, however, which admits of considerable restrictions, especially in the case of the adjective,^o *wep*, "*great*." The pyramid is also found in another group, that of the name of the city of Memphis,^p where it performs the office of determinative; and, among the titles of the functionaries of this period occurs^q "*Chief of the South*," having the charge of the south (fig. 3.); while under the rule of the eighteenth dynasty are officers, entitled^r "*second in command of Abydos*" (fig. 4.), and the same titles which apply to Tot are also given to functionaries during the rule of Saophis I., or^s Cheops, whose prenomen is accompanied by similar adjuncts,

^m Leemans, l. c. p. 16.

ⁿ Burton (J.) Excerpt. Hieroglyph. Pl. xxvii. 18.

^o As *wep*  *Great mother*, &c. Monuments, passim.

^p Champ. Gr. Eg. p. 154.

^q Inscr. foot of a statue at the Louvre.

^r Stele, in possession of Lord Prudhoe.

^s Burt. Ex. Hier. l. c.

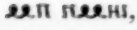




and these apparently apply to the monarch himself, and not to the officer. Is it not possible, if we cannot recognize these symbols as *great pyramid*, and find in Tot the *actual architect* or person encharged with the works of the second pyramid, that under these two symbols (fig. 5.) may be expressed chief of Memphis,^t the capital of lower Egypt, the metropolis from which the dynasty of Cheops were called the fourth Memphite dynasty in Manetho? The expression on the jamb B "*making to love*," or, actively, "*loving his lord always*," is one which, although it may possibly be one of personal loyalty, is, with far greater probability, a title of official import. That it often was so employed, appears from its interposition among other titles on the statue of Monthnaa,^u who is termed "*the Souten rokh, truly loving him* (the king), *seated in his heart*," (fig. 6.), and the "*military chief, filling the heart of the king*" (fig. 7.), metaphorical expressions, analogous to the φίλων, τῶν πρώτων φίλων^x of the Ptolemaic era, avowedly not Greek, but Egyptian, and revived with many others during the epoch of the Lagidæ: while the application of the verb "to be," in an active sense, is fully proved by a monument executed under the domination of the Osortasens, where a female is mentioned as "*his wife loving him*," "*making to praise*," i.e. *praising him always*^y (fig. 8.). Besides attached to his lord, Tot is entitled the mour or person "*attached to the care of the hall of audience of the great house or palace*;" and this, which is repeated twice, offers a curious variant between the inscription of the architrave E and on the moulding I; for while, on the first, the expression "*seat*," or "*tribunal*" is represented by the direct tropical sign (fig. 9.) of an Egyptian throne, it is on the second by three phonetical elements, the horns of a cow, block, and semicircle, equivalent to $\Delta\Delta\Gamma$, a group which appears in other texts

^t Phtah is frequently called "*the southern rampart*" (fig. a.), in reference to his eponymous character, as the deity of Memphis.




^u British Mus. Eg. Gal. no. 83*.

^x Letronne, Rech. p. 328, conceives it Persian: but even the expressions—eyes of the King—ears of the King—are traceable on the monuments. Cf. Xenophon. Stele, Br. Mus. no. 147. My Sketch of a Hieroglyphical Dictionary, 4to. Lond. 1838. no. 16.

^y Eg. Gal. Br. Mus. no. 162.

(fig. 10.), as , "*tribunal of truth*,"^z and at other times (fig. 11.) as a verb, with two legs in motion, as the verb "to be enthroned," or "sit," and which in the name of the deity Anubis, called by M. Champollion Hophioue,^a expresses, "*he who is seated upon the roads*." The next part of the inscription, which I have translated "*superintendent of the tombs*," has, I am aware, been explained by M. Rosellini,^b as "*superintendent of the fields of the country*," in which I am compelled to differ from the learned professor. The face and mouth (fig. 12.) phonetically H R., and used as the Coptic  *super*, over, &c. is replaced in the inscription which he quotes, by the seat or symbol of heaven, its determinative. The other signs are written by an entire set of variants, reading  in both instances, and equivalent to the Coptic , a word in the Memphitic dialect^c expressing *accumbere*, *decumbere*, *cubare*, &c.; and these are generally accompanied by the section of a vaulted sarcophagus, or box with a vaulted cover. In its direct acceptance it may mean the "*reclining apartment*;" and the title would then be equivalent to chamberlain of the palace; but since, when accompanied by its determinative, it occurs in expressions evidently indicating the tomb over which Phtah-Sochari Osiris particularly presided, the eponymous deity of Memphis, it should indicate the office of *superintendent of the tombs*, whose connexion with the pyramids is of course evident. The next expression is still more difficult and uncertain. Taken literally, it may mean "*bearer at the side of the king*;" but it is necessary to analyse the elements of which it is composed. The first symbol, a species of sceptre, known by the name of *pat*, placed vertically, has the phonetical value of *n* or *q*, and habitually replaces in the texts the bird flying, used to express the verb , "*to bear or carry*." Thus the bird and symbol of victory, which in one text expresses the office of "*bearer of the standard of victory*," the athlophorus of the Rosetta stone, is found upon other monuments, with the sceptre and the

^z Coffin, Eg. Room, B. M. Case D.

^a Champ. Gr. Eg. p. 114, who regards the two horns as  in , while Salvolini proves them to be an  [An. Gr. Pl. D. 109.]

^b Mon. Stor. tom. iii. tav. i. p. 46.

^c Peyron (Amad.), Lex. Ling. Copt. 4to. Taur. 1835, p. 311.

feather standard (figg. 13, 14.)^d, from the interchangeable nature of the signs, which equally imply, to bear or to carry. The second sign is the owl, the preposition *eee*, *eee*, *in, of, &c.*; and the third an unknown object, whose phonetical value has not as yet been fixed. It has as yet only been found alternating with another symbol^e (fig. 15.), and its value can consequently only be gathered from the context of the inscriptions in which it occurs. On the sarcophagus of Onkhapé a bard in the British Museum,^f in the text relating to Isis and Nephthys, lamenting over the bier of Osiris, occurs the expression, "*thy sisters are there beside thy bier*" (fig. 16.); and the address of the four genii of the amenti on the coffin of Hapimen, B.M. is "*we come to place ourselves beside thee*"^g (fig. 17.); if we concede to this symbol the value of c, and suppose the group analogous to those ordinarily used for *eeCa*, *ncA*, &c. (fig. 18, 19.). Scribes are also found of the second and third sides of the temples (fig. 20.), although, in some inscriptions, the symbol seems analogous to *ωφφ*.^h It will be observed that, in the cornice of the present monument, the functionary Tot holds in one hand a pat sceptre, a wand held by a class of officers who seem previous to the eighteenth dynasty, and the splendid conquests of the monarchs of that line, to have preceded the athlophori, an office conferred upon princes of the blood royal, and personages of the highest rank, who were invested with the courtly functions of "athlophori," or bearers of the emblem of victory, at the right and left hand of the king, attached to the charge of the brood mares or royal equerries, and encharged with the genuflections or royal ushers.ⁱ The sceptre-bearers or athlophori of the Egyptian court answered to the doryphori of the Persian,^k and perhaps to our yeomen of

^d Cf. Statue, B. M. no. 27. Ch. Gr. Eg. p. 68.

^e M. Salvolini, Gr. Rais supposed it to be *T*, mistaking an owl for an eagle on a sarcophagus at Leyden (Anal. Gram. Pl. E, n. 166-7). Dr. Leemans, Mon. Eg. fol. 1839, gives it as the homophone of the symbol before mentioned.

^f Egypt. Room, Case U 3.

^g Saloon, no. 33.

^h Stele, Anast. no. 23.

ⁱ Rosell. Mon. Stor. tom. ii. p. (fig. h.) which compare with (fig. 8.) Rosetta stone—"all genuflection."

^k "Hæc vero turba, muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis quam decoris armis conspicua erat, doryphori vocabantur." Quintus Curtius, 12mo. Amster. 1671. p. 20.

the guard, accompanying the monarch upon all state occasions, as the introduction of prisoners and spoils, or the performance of religious rites. These later officers I regard as modelled upon the sceptre-bearers at the side of the king of the earlier dynasties, since few functionaries of that class then appear, while the athlophori seem to have been attached to the court down to the close of the sway of the Greek masters of Egypt.

The next line contains an expression which is at present far from thoroughly analysed. It commences with the term ¹ ⲛⲁⲛ or ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛ, *all*, and two signs reading directly ⲁⲁⲁ, ⲉⲁⲁ or ⲉⲁⲉ, possibly a metathesis for ⲁⲉⲁ, *true*; but the use of the basket, ⲛⲉⲛ, ⲛⲁⲛ, to express *all*, is generally affixed not prefixed to the noun to which it is applied. The other part contains two phonetic elements: of which the value of the latter only has been satisfactorily ascertained. It is however probable that fig. 21 is the equivalent of fig. 22, shortened for tachygraphic purposes, and of the value of the Coptic ⲱ, since the appearance of the two is rarely contemporaneous; yet the expressions to which it is limited renders the group almost ideographic. One example (fig. 23.) gives the form ⲉⲱ ⲱⲡ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲓ, another (fig. 24) ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲁⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲛ²; the equivalent of which first term seems to be in Coptic expressed by ⲉⲱⲱⲉ or ⲱⲱⲉ,³ oportet, decet, sacra facere, and the whole phrase means "doing what is right and sacred to Osiris," or "devout and justified." Another variation occurs as "*sacred to Anubis*," ⲉⲱ ⲧⲱⲡ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ (fig. 25.) This must be carefully distinguished from the same group affixed to different functions, where it is represented by the Coptic root ⲱⲱⲱ *powerful*, since the same group occurs in positions where it must have this meaning as "*attached to the charge of the signet*,"⁴ (fig. 26.), which is otherwise habitually represented in the texts by⁵ (fig. 27.), written at an early epoch⁶ in the form (fig. 28.), and found as the equivalent (fig. 29.)⁷ in its phonetic compliment. It also, at the end of a sepulchral formula, ending "*divine life with them*," expresses (fig. 30.) "*chief or having power over the*

¹ Tattam (H.) Lex. Ægypt. Lat. 8vo. Oxford, 1835, p. 306. ² Stele, An. Coll. 14.

³ Stele, An. Coll. No. 14.

⁴ Peyron, Lex. Ling. Coptic. vocibus.

⁵ Stele, An. Coll. B. M. No. 12.

⁶ Peyron, Lex. L. C. voce.

⁷ Stele, An. 12.

⁸ Cf. Coffin. Hapimen. No. 29.

⁹ Stele, An. 17.

¹⁰ Statue, B. M. Eg. Gal. 51.

South,"^x and the same group is placed before the mour or "attache" of another inscription,^y perhaps in the sense of *the chief attached to*, &c. (fig. 31.) The last variant is where (fig. 32.) it means the person "encharged with the divine offerings of bread of the gods."^z The two bars here implying duality or a repetition of the last sign. The rest of the sentence expresses *gyp noure nua* "to the great God," and the whole expression, which implies that the person is deceased, is peculiar to this early epoch, being placed under the 18th and subsequent dynasties by the formula *am tawo*—"the true speaking" (fig. 33.) as in *am tawo gyp pa*, *am tawo gyp oucp*^b justified to Re or Ra, justified to Osiris (fig. 34, 35.) In other instances it appears placed between or replacing^c "for the offering of" (fig. 36). A consideration of these passages seems to imply that its meaning should be analogous to *true* or *devoted to*. The last line contains the expression "royal purifier" of M. Rosellini^d and "royal orator" of M. Salvolini.^e This difference arises from the ambiguity of the elements, the mouth and sieve (fig. 37.) which may be read *pxh*, *lavare* or *pa* *dicere*, and M. Rosellini perhaps would parallel it to the variant royal priest (fig. 38.). In one instance this is accompanied by the determinative symbol of a man placing his hand to his mouth, which is put after all verbs of speaking; and in the Ritual published by M. Cadet^f (sec. 1.) and in the Description de l'Egypte,^g in the Section called "*the book of going to the hypostyle of the two goddesses of truth*," (fig. 39.) which comprises the negative confession of the deceased and judgment before the forty-two assessors, in the passage (fig. 40.) "*declare to me thy name, tell me the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the abode of the two truths*," it occurs without any determinative image, and exactly similar to the present mode of expressing it. Supposing this meaning "*to speak, to tell*," &c. to be that intended on the early monuments, in preference to the *Souten rokh*, it would render the expression equivalent to royal orator or tutor, and would account for the same office being held by his wife, since

^x Stele, An. Coll. B. M. No. 8.^y Ib. No. 25.^z Stele, An. Coll. No. 22.^a *gyp* not *hp* or *zp* expresses the "ad" towards, &c.^b Onkhapé, Case xx. B. M.^c Egypt. R. Coffin of Irioui roou. Case cc. 2.^d Mon. Civ. i. p. 35. a kind of Priest.^e An. Gram. Rais. p. 91.^f Last Part. Cf. also Ch. Gr. Eg.^g Pl. tom. v. pl. 72, et seq.

no instance occurs of females being invested with the same sacerdotal offices as men.^b The name, which in Egyptian is put last, reads directly $\tau\tau\circ$ or $\tau\tau\Delta$, but innumerable instances prove that the vowel pronounced in the centre of the word was frequently affixed; consequentlyⁱ the name should be read *Tot* or *Tat*, to which it can be readily paralleled in Coptic,^k and not Teti. The two signs of which it is composed are the well known homophones of (fig. 41.) of the human hand, (fig. 42.)^l the pyramidal offering, the emblem of stability (fig. 43.), and the symbols (fig. 44, 45.) They represent twisted cords, terminating in loops (fig. 46). On the jamb B are three children of the deceased, naked, as the younger branches of families always appear at this early epoch, before their parents, probably to indicate their infancy. The hair of their head is gathered into a single lock and falls behind; a custom perhaps borrowed from their neighbours.^m At a later period princes of the blood royal wear the pendant lock upon the right shoulder, similar to the god Horus.ⁿ Their names are not all very distinct; the title of royal priest borne by the first is also peculiar to this epoch, and the sacerdotal functions seem to have been vested in the reigning family. The name of the second son is especially remarkable. It is composed of a cartouche and two other symbols, a mode of nomenclature adopted at this remote epoch, and copied under the twenty-sixth or Saite dynasty; and it at the latter period occurs as a cognomen expressed in the hieroglyphical texts by (fig. 46^a.)^o $\rho\Delta\eta\tau\zeta$ "named" or $\chi\omicron\tau$ (fig. 47.) "called," equivalent to the $\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota$ or alias of the Greek texts and inscriptions. It is from this, that the error of M. Rosellini in calling Cheops a royal priest has arisen, from the name of Cheops having occurred in the composition of that of some individual

^b Although females assisted in the worship of the gods, it does not appear that they ever distinctly performed the office of priestess. They certainly do not bear the same titles. It is equally repugnant to the tenor of the inscriptions to suppose Neith or Athor mythic priestesses.

ⁱ Lepsius (Dr. R.), *Lettre à M. Rosellini sur l'Alphabet hieroglyphique*, 8vo. Rome, 1837, has clearly laid down this rule, p. 40.

^k Peyr. and Tattam, *vocibus*.

^l In combinations, fig. d. e. f. g. h. Mon. passim.

^m Rosellini, *Mon. Stor. Atlas*, tav. MR. N^o. CLV.

ⁿ *Idem. Ibid.*

^o Coffin of Hapimen, *Descr. de l'Eg. tom. v. Pl. 24.* B. M. Eg. Gal. No. 33.

who must have held the same office as the eldest son of the present officer; as a tomb published in Burton's *Excerpta* gives the same name as the present, Shefraonkh the royal priest.^p In one instance the flattery of the courtier has named his son Shefreosh (the glorious Chefren) and in the other Shefreonkh (the living Chefren), while his daughters bear the appellation of Shefrenofre or the good Chefren. The value of this evidence in fixing successions is apparent. The children of a functionary under a particular monarch are named with the appellation of the king himself; the names were consequently given during infancy, and this principle affords some clue towards assigning the relative position of some of the royal names in succession at an early epoch; and although the name Phtahousr is not important, that of the other child Outska, gives at the end the three upraised arms visible in the cartouche of Menkare. May not this name also have been constructed upon the analogy of some cartouche? The texts on the jamb commence with the names of two female deities, one in two capacities. The ellipsis here is not very distinct, although some clue is afforded to it by other monuments. A female named Philous or Philout, mother of Soter, son of Cornelius Pollius, is styled^q "*Athorian*" instead of "*Osirian*." Another of the same family, Tphous, daughter of Heraclius Soter and Sarapous, bears the same epithet.^r The male deceased, and female, were generally termed *Osirian* after the XVI. dynasty, and their bodies embalmed after the model of this deity; but the exceptions pointed out, prove that the rule was occasionally violated. Consequently the inscription reversed, would give the royal . . . "*Tebt or Touit [female devoted to or beloved of] Athor the pure goddess resident in the abode of the Sycamore, Neith the pure goddess resident in the abode of Shafre.*" The kind of panegyry over which Athor presided is not as yet ascertained, and the group difficult to analyse. It consists of three elements, the twisted cord (fig. 48.), star, and hemisphere. The first only is phonetic, and represents ω and the fuller form of which

^p Probably the tomb of this identical person.

^q Græco-Egyptian Coffin, B. M. Eg. Room, JJ. since BBB. This had not escaped Horapollon, lib. i. viii. διὸ καὶ πᾶσαν θήλειαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ πειθομένην Αἰγύπτιοι Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι.

^r Young (Thom.), *Hieroglyphica*. Pl. xiv.

Champ. Gr. Eg. p. 98.

^s The star is determinative of time.

this is an abbreviation gives ωκ (fig. 49.) as on the Stele of Amounei. "I have come with offering to the chiefs of Abydos in the . . . (ωκ) panegyries of Thoth,"¹ and on the side of a Memphite tomb of the national collection executed during the epoch of the same dynasty, it appears after the usual formula of a table "provided with bread and wine, &c. upon the completion of the year, Thoth the commencement of the year the (ωκ) . . . of the principal panegyries always" (fig. 50.).² In other formulas this is substituted by sections of time at the end of the ordinary expression,³ as "divine life, together with them in the months and half months of the panegyries of Thoth" (fig. 51.). The full form, however, is⁴ ωλκ or ωρκ (fig. 52.) ορκ ολκ "to curve or contract;" and from a comparison of figs. 50, 51, it may mean "Athor the establisher of sections of panegyries in all her tribunals always." The remainder of the signs in this first title of Athor are already well recognised. The next title occurs in such a manner as to indicate the meaning, although it differs from all other epochs; the hatchet and vase, which appears at the period of the eighteenth dynasty before the names of sacerdotal functionaries, and is supposed to indicate * εοντ or "prophet priest," at the Memphite era appears after the names of deities and monarchs. Here it can not mean prophet, otherwise it would have been *prefixed* not *affixed* to the signs implying the deity, as there are innumerable instances to show, and no female ever bore such office or appellation. It occupies precisely the same place that (fig. 53.)⁵ ηοντε ηαα "great god" or "great goddess" does at another period. This confirms the supposition, that at the era of the Pyramid builders, this expression (fig. 54.) meant "pure goddess" or "great goddess," or some appellation of equivalent meaning. The other parts of the inscription have already been deciphered, but the name of the female offers some peculiarities. It reads directly TB.T. and is followed by the hippopotamus, here probably its determinative. The same group (fig. 55.) with two lines and two sandals is every where used to express "sandals," "a pair of sandals," and M. Champollion imagined it to be analogous to the Coptic τεδτωδ.⁶ Yet the very expression for sandals

¹ B. M. Eg. Gal. No. 162.² Ibidem, Vestibule.³ Stele Anastasi, No. 8.⁴ Burt. Excerpt. Hier. Pl. Fig. i. in a previous inscription is the contracted form of k. week. Salvolini, An. Gr. p.⁵ Champ. Gr. Eg. p. 167.⁶ Mon. passim.⁶ Gr. Eg. p. 78.

themselves exists in the Coptic, in which the Ⲛ and ⲟⲩ are interchangeable, and pronounced as V: for ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ^c (Tove) of the Theban, and ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲓ (thovi) of the Memphite dialect are used in several passages to express ὑποδήμα or "*sandal*," and the same group gives ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ^d Tovi or Tooui, which means "*the morning, the dawn*," the only period of time which the hippopotamus expressed was the hour;^e and the name of the animal itself, on the authority of M. Champollion, was *ōpt*.^f The hemisphere is the feminine article ⲧ T or ⲧ affixed, and the whole reduced to sound, becomes Tebt, Toouit or Tovit. The composition of the names of the females is so similar to those of the males on the other jambs, as to require no explanation, and the region of which Shafre is the pure god does not at present admit of a satisfactory solution.

The materials mentioned in the area between the figures are incense, sthem or stibium, and a cosmetic for the eyes, called (fig. 56.) ⲙⲧ or ⲙⲧⲉ^h perhaps a variant of (fig. 57.) ⲙⲑⲟⲓ,ⁱ unguent, perfume, scent, found to express ⲙⲕⲧ^k (fig. 58.) "net, thread," &c. and the name of the goddess Sate, the Egyptian Juno, as "*Sate mistress of the region of Eianho*," (fig. 59.) The other materials called in the hieroglyphics ⲧⲡⲗⲥ, and ⲡⲗⲥ have no equivalent in Coptic. One is accompanied by the determinative image of a basket and three grains, and is probably a material similar to the sthem or stibium or some other semimineral substance. The last is written ⲉⲧⲧ by the anterior parts of a lion as determinative. In Coptic ⲉⲧⲧⲧ expresses an onion, cabbage, garlic, beet-root, possibly derived from the expression ⲉⲑⲓ or ⲕⲟⲓ, "*chief*" or "*first of the field*" (fig. 60.),^m and may mean one of this sort of vegetable. Expressions already interpreted fill up the rest of the area. It is to be observed that the jamb C is restored from a similar doorway belonging to the same functionary in the same collection, and that Tot is there represented with long hair and clad in a panther skin, indicating his priestly functions, and holding in his hands a wand and pat sceptre, as the level de-

^c Peyr. Lex. L. Copt. p. 233.

^d Idem, Ibid.

^e Horapollo, 11.

sec. 20, ἱππος ποτάμιος γραφόμενος ὥραν δηλοῖ.

^f Champ. G. E. p. 83.

^g Ch. G. E.

passim, prefixes the affixed article T, if it is pronounced. I prefer the affixed, as proposed by Lepsius, Lettre à M. Rosellini, p. 63, n. 67.

^h Present specimen.

Rit. Cad.

^k Side of a box, B. M.

^l Sarc. B. M. 3.

^m Stele Anast. Coll. B. M. 50.

analogous to ⲉⲑⲓ "the heart."

noted his architectural employment. The two fragments belonging to this tomb were probably placed above it. They contain nothing remarkable, and are evidently a portion of two lines, the small pyramid having been let down from the upper line for the sake of room.

The general deduction to be drawn from the preceding analysis of the inscriptions of this tomb, which can boast of an antiquity of almost four thousand years, is, that here is to be found the portrait of the individual actually encharged with the erection of the Pyramid of Chephren or the second of those at Gizeh; that the scenes represented the dresses and the viands. The offices held demonstrate that, even at that period, Egyptian civilisation was drawing towards the zenith which the arts attained under the seventeenth dynasty; that the system of writing was developed, the phonetical principles understood, although not manifesting that extreme finish which the eighteenth dynasty gave them. They stand almost alone in the history of language, and certainly in that of art, since the contemporaneous monuments of all other nations have ceased for centuries to exist; and, transplanted from the centre of one civilisation to that of another, they are the most precious bequest of centuries, they are the legacy of the first-born of our race, the primæval germ, whose blossoms are scattered round us in the civilisation of the old world, in the advancement of the new.

No opinion has been offered with regard to the period of Cheops or Chephren, because at present we have no monumental evidence to connect his line with the sixteenth or seventeenth dynasty. In the lists of Manetho he appears in the fourth Memphite dynasty; while the chronology of Rosellini brings up Osortasen I. to 2081 A.C. leaving only 206 years between him and the deluge; but the three great Pyramid builders reigned above one hundred and fifty years. M. Lenormant would assign a date of above 4000 B.C.? while the commonly received date is 2123 A.C. Reiske, Herod. lib. 11. sec. 124. makes it 1182—1132 A.C. for the reign of Cheops, and for Chephren 1132—1076.



J. B. Zinzin

Hieroglyphics on and Illustrative of the Tomb from Gizeh.

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X. *Observations upon the History of certain Events in England during the Reign of King Edward the Fourth.* By JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., &c.

Read February 27th, 1840.

THE last few years have been productive of much new research in the history of the reign of Edward the Fourth. Sir Henry Ellis, in his "Original Letters illustrative of English History," laid the foundation of a series of documents, which was followed by some articles in the "Excerpta Historica," by Mr. W. H. Black, and more recently has been considerably augmented by the publication of an anonymous history under the able editorship of Mr. Bruce, and another contemporary chronicle published by the Camden Society. To furnish a few additional facts on a period of history, the obscurity of which has been admitted by every writer,^a has been my object in the present paper; and I place the results of my researches before the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, under the conviction that its members form the only body in Europe able to judge whether the materials here brought together are valuable additions to this portion of our country's history.

Edward took possession of the throne of England on the fourth day of March, 1461.^b From MS. Arundel, No. 5, in the College of Arms, we have the following minute account of his proceedings during the first days of that

^a See also a letter from Thomas Hearne to Mr. West, in MS. Lansd. 778, fol. 42, r^o, on this subject.

^b I may remark that, although Edward virtually began his reign some days previously, yet Henry's government did not end, nor Edward's commence, until the 4th of March, and this date is universally adopted in every contemporary document. Another MS. says, that "he went to Westmynster and resseyved his septré and toke his charge on the Wednysday, the iiij. day of Marche."—MS. Rot. Harl. C. 8, membr. ult.

month. On the second of March he proclaimed, throughout London, the articles concerning his claim to the crown of England; on the third, he read them before his parliament; on the fourth, there was a general procession solemnly made through London, and the bishop of Exeter preached the same day at St. Paul's a sermon, in which he advocated the right of Edward's succession. This sermon I discovered in one of the Cottonian manuscripts, wholly unnoticed in the Catalogues, and I have now the pleasure of placing it before the notice of the Society:—

[MS. Bib. Cotton. Vespas. E. vii. fol. 18, v^o.]

“ In the name of God and of oure Ladi and alle the good compony of Heven, every trewe Cristen man of God be ye now feithfulle and trewe, and be wise and welle ware houghe and what oppynyons that ye holde: for alle thinges good trewe and rightfulle commethe of God and of his warkes that are feithfulle, *quia ipse est solus Deus et veritas*. Thanne lett us applye oure willes with oure werkes to Godis wille oure maker uppon peyne of everlasting dampnacione, and also latt us beware of the fals suttile of the devyle and of his fals blynde warkes, with the whiche he disseyvythe many a man and woman, bothe in body and soule, be his innumerable disseites and wronges with fals covetous oppinions that now regnythe in moche wikked people in their worldly joyes, whiche schal perishe, *omnia transibunt et gaudia vana peribunt*. Forsothe aungels of hevene, and alle erthelye creatures, nor alle the fendis of helle knowe nat ne canne not telle the wille ne prevites of Gode, nowther oure nor tyme of suche thingges as longges to Goddis prevey powere, *non est vestrum nosce[re] tempora, &c. sed accipietis virtutem spiritus sancti in vos supervientis*. For that we have no knowleche of the privitees of Gode, therfor the Holy Gost hathe schewyd be his inspiracioun in his blyssed servauntes and holy seintes unto us that is moste nedefulle and medefulle for us, as seithe in scripture, *spiritus ubi vult spirat*. Thanne no man schuld not presume the contrari to lett ne refuse the vertu of inspiracioun of the Holy Gost be many holy seintes ordeined, prophecied to geve us warnyng, understanding, and knowleche for our wele bothe of body and soule, and to eschewe the grete vengeaunce that schalle falle for synful wronges done in olde tyme be disenherityng of kyngis, princis, and lordis of

nobile progeny in many divers kyngdomes; alle this may be understond and knowyn to every vertuose and welle disposede man that wille inclyne to Goddis wille and his lawe, as may be proved be gode communicacioun, but many there benne, *quod nolunt intelligere, ut bene agerent*. And another wille dispisene alle suche propheciis, and sett hem at nought, *Paulus dicit, " Spiritum nolite extinguere, prophetias nolite spernere; omnia autem probate; quod bonum est tenete; ab omni specie mala abstinete vos."* Thus ye may discerne good frome evylle, and righte fro wronge, and evere beware fro wronge and fle evele, *quoniam in malivolam animam non introibit sapientia*. Now tak hede every man hough righte for syne be wrong was put oute, anno 689. And now ageine wronge for syne be ryghte is flemed oute of the londe for evere, anno 1460. Thus it is knowen and proved of oure Lord be revelacioun in oure Lady aungelle Sibelle, quene of the Southe, a doughter of Seint Germaine, Seint Edwarde, [Seint three words are erased] Birgitt, Bede, Gildas, Ricardus Scrope, and many moo, &c.—*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*. Now understond welle every man, houghe and in whome alle theis forsaide concludene and acordyne alle in one rightefully be inspiracioun of the Holy Gost. This schulde be opynned to every good man's knowleche, *Nolite timere eos, qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere; sed potius eum timere qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in Jehennam*. Therfor geve credens to alle theis before rehersed, houghe be inspiracioun have establysshede to us the verey trwe and feithfulle righte of olde tyme in diverse reames long tyme wrongfully kepte out, and was out of mynde, that nowe is founden in many olde written bokes mervolusly declared. Be home alle suche people as have be blynde and evele disposed to God and right, yit maye make provision to amende hemselfe ageyns God and right for there welfares and the salvacioun of their owne soules; and to eschewe suche dredfull mischeves as have bene and schalle be universalle, for grete abhominabile synnes incustumed that regnythe in the people, wherefore Gode takethe vengeance dailé,—

" Ante Dei vultum
Nihil unquam transit inultum.
Nemo Dei cultum
Presumat dicere stultum.
Quæ peccata latent,
Ignoto tempore patent."

Thus better it is to geve credens to Goddes lefule warkes than to oure worldely joyes, sinfule and wikked selfewillede and blynde oppinions, that nowe is cause dayle of oure troublis and mischevoues undoyng suddeynlé be the dredefule vengeaunce of Gode, *quia opus Domini non respicitis, nec opera manuum ejus consideratis.*"

When Edward entered the metropolis as a conqueror, he had the voice of the people in his favour. "On Thursday, the first week in Lent," observes the writer of the Lambeth MS. 306, "came Edward to London with thirty thousand men, and so in field and town every one called Edward King of England and of France." On this occasion the following curious song was written, which affords us ample means of judging of the popular feeling in favour of Edward.

[MS. Lambeth, 306, fol. 136, r^o.]

Sithe God hathe chose the to be his knygt,
And posseside the in this right,
Thone hime honour with al thi myght,
Edwardus Dei gratia.

Oute of the stoke that longe lade day [*read lay dede*],
God hathe causede the to sprynge and sprede,
And of al Englund to be the hede,
Edwardus Dei gratia.

Sithe God hath yeven the thorough his myjte,
Owte of that stoke birede in sight
The floure to springe and rosse so white,
Edwardus Dei gratia.

Thone yeve hem lawde and praisinge,
Thoue vergyne knight of whom we synge,
Undeffiled sithe thy begynyng,
Edwardus Dei gratia.

God save thy contenevaunce,
And so to prospe to his plesaunce,
That ever thyne astate thou mowte enhaunce,
Edwardus Dei gratia.

Re Anglie et Francie, y say,
Hit is thine owne, why saist thou nay?
And so is Spayn, that faire contrey.

Edwardus Dei gratia.

Fy on slowtfulle contenewauance!
Where conquest is a noble plesance,
And registerd in olde remembrance,

Edwardus Dei gratia.

Wherfor Prince and Kyng moste myzti,
Remembere the Subdene of thi Regaly,
Of Englonde, Fraunce and Spayn trewely.

Edwardus Dei gratia.

Heavily, indeed, had the loss of the three continental provinces during Henry's sovereignty touched the people; so that for years it formed the most bitter cause for complaint against that monarch. The allusion to it in this song is evident; and the notice of Spain "that faire contrey," proves how ardently a continental war and continental conquests were desired.

In the summer of the year 1461 King Edward made a tour of the south of England, ending westward at Bristol. It was at this town, on the 9th of September, in the same year, that Sir Baldwin Fulford and others were beheaded; and it appears from MS. Rot. Harl. C. 8, that they "were take on the se saylynge into Brytayne for to arayse people ageyn Kynge Edward," and that after they were beheaded their heads "were caryed to Exeter and were sette uppon the castelle gate."^c

^c I here take the opportunity of supplying a minute point of history, which has never yet been given correctly by any author. Speaking of the Earl of Oxford, and his son, Lord Aubrey, the author of Hearne's Fragment says, "They were both taken the xij. day of Feb. 1460-1, and brought to the toure at London, and shortely thereuppon, the xx. day of the same month, bothe the fadir and the son were brought unto the Toure hill, where they suf-frid dethe bothe on one day." Now the fact is that they were taken on the 2nd of February, the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, that the Earl of Oxford was executed on the 20th, and the son on the 26th, and all in the year 1462. This appears from MS. Arundel (Coll. Arm.) 5, and MS. Rot. Harl. C. 8, membr. ult. The editor of the Gentleman's Magazine (Dec. 1839) in a review of Warkworth's Chronicle, falls into the same error. Edward was not reigning in February 1461.

I must now beg leave to introduce two remarkable documents which relate to the personal history of a lady afterwards destined to share the crown with Edward. I allude, of course, to Elizabeth Wodeville. The following letters are taken from MS. Bib. Reg. 17 B. 47, f. 165.

1. *Letter of Richard, Duke of York, to Elizabeth Wodeville.*

"Right trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wel; And forsomoche as we are credibly enfourmed that our right herty and welebilovede knyght, Sir Hugh John, for the grete wommanhode and gentillesse approved and knowen in your persone, ye beyng soooule and to be married, his hert holy have, wherof we are right wel pleased. How it be of your disposicioun towards him in that bihalve as yet to us is unknowen, We, therefore, as for the feith, true and good lordship we owe unto him at this tyme, and so wol continue, Desire and hertley praie you ye wol on your partie be to him wel willed to the perfourmyng of this our writyng and his desire. Wherein ye shal do not onely to our pleasure, but we doubte not to you grete wele and worshipec in tyme comyng. Certefiying you, if ye fulfille our entent in this matier, we wol and shul be to him and you suche lord as shal be to your bother grete wele and worship by the grace of God, who precede and guyde you in al heavenly felicitee and welfare. Writen &c.

"By Richard
"Duk of York."

"To Dame Elizabeth
"Wodehille."

2. *Letter of Richard, Earl of Warwick, to Elizabeth Wodeville.*

"Worshipful and welebiloved, I grete you wele, And forasmoche as my right welebiloved, Sir Hugh John, knyght, which now late was with you unto his ful grete joie, and had grete chere as he seith, whereof I thanke you, hath enfourmed me how that he for the greet love and affectioun that he hath unto your persone, as wele for the grete sadnes and wisdom that he founde and proved in you at that tyme, as for your grete and preised vertues and wommanly demeanyng, desireth with al his hert to do you worship by wey of mariage, bfore any other creature lyvyng as he seith. I, considering his seid desire, and the greet worshipec that he had, which was made

knyght at Jerusalem; and after his comyng home, for the grete wisdom and manhode that he was renoumed of, was made knyght Marchal of Fraunce, and after that knyght Marchal of Englonde, unto his grete worshipec, with other his grete and many vertues and desertes; And also the gode and notable service that hath done and daily doth to me, Write unto you at this tyme, and pray you affectuously that ye wil the rather, at this my request and praier, to condescende and applie you unto his seid lawful and honest desire, wherein ye shal not onely purvey right notably for yourself unto you[r] wele and grete worshipec in tyme to come, as I verely trust, but also cause me to shewe unto you such gode lordship, as ye by reasoun shal holde you contented and pleased, with the grace of God, whiche everlastyngly have you in his blissed proteccioun and governaunce. Writen, &c.

"By Richard

"Erle of Warr."

"To Dame

"Elizabeth Wodehille."

Sir Hugh Johns appears to have survived his disappointment, as may be seen from the inscription on his monument in the parish church of Swansea, and which is given by Sir R. C. Hoare, in the *Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. i. p. 166-7.

The following account of Edward's marriage is taken from MS. Lansd. 210. The date of this occurrence is unfortunately not known, nor have I been able to supply the deficiency:—

"In thys same yer kyng Edward sent hys trusty frende, the Erle of Warwyk, and other imbasseturs into France to conclowde a maryage for hym with the lady Bona, that was systre to the French quene, a lady of excelent bewté, wech he concludyd in the kynges name, the wech besenys afterward dyd cawse cevylle war and moch meschef; for Kyng Edward had changyd hys mende, or the Erle cam whom agayn, and was maryed to the lady Elsabyth Gray, dawter to Rycharde Lord Revers, woch was maryd befor to Ser John Gray, knight, by whom she had ij. cheldren, Thomas and Richard."

It will be recollected that Queen Margaret visited France to obtain succour for King Henry. The following very curious narrative, which is taken from MS. Lambeth, 448, throws great light on the way Edward was made acquainted with her designs:—

"Blyssyt be God! diverse of owre adversaryes be owrethrowyn, and we undyrstond the prevyte and fals ymaginacions of the French party. Also ther is oon callyt John Worby, of Mortlond, a spye, in the county of Herteford, servaunt to Sere John Russel, in the county of Wyscetre, takyn be the Lord Suthwell, and the seid a spye ther takyn, hath confessyt that Kyng Herry, late Kyng of England, in dede but not in ryth, and sche that was Queyn Margarete hys wyf, and Edward hyr son, the duk of Brytayne, Edward the Duk of Burgoyn, Syr Wylliam Taylbos, the Lord Roos, Sir Richard Tunstall, Thomas Ormond, Sir W. Catisby, Thomas Fytze Harry—thes lordes and knytes be in Scotlond with the Scottes. The Duk of Excetre, Erl of Penbrok, the Baron of Burford, John Ayne—thes schal lond at Bumeryes be the appoyment of Robert Gald, Captene of the Duk of Burgoyne. Duk Herry of Calabere, the Lord Hungyrford, the Lord Mortone, the Duk of Somersete, with lx. m^l. men of Spayne, thes schal londyn in the coost of Norfolk and Suffolk. The Lord Lewys, the Duk of Spayne, Herry the Dolfyn of Franch, Ser John Fosbrew, Ser John Russel of Wycetre, Ser Thomas Burtayne, the erlys brothere of Denschyre, Ser Thomas Cornwaylys; thes lordes and knytes schal londyn at Sanewych by the appoyment. Than comyng after thes lordes and knytes byfore wryten to assiste them with al the powre possibille they may make; the Kyng of Fraunce with a c. m^l; the Kyng of Denmarke with xx. m^l; the Kyng of Aragon l. m^l; the Kyng of Slavern with xx. m^l; the Kyng of Cesyl with xxv. m^l; the Kyng of Portyngale with x. m^l; the whych be appoyntyt to enter the reme of Ingland."

It is quite unnecessary to enlarge on the extreme curiosity of this document. We see the very heart of the reason of Edward's movements. I beg leave to refer to Warkworth's Chronicle on the same period. From the following extract it appears that this MS. (viz. MS. Lambeth, 448) was written at the time of the events recorded. The date is A. D. 1464:—

"Thes thythynges hath my Lord of Lyncolne, and the same be come to Staford, and now be al the contre, that on Wednesday, *id est*, on Seynt Markes day, a felde was takyn betwyne my Lord Mountynghew on Kyng Edwardys party, and the Lord Hungyrford and many odyr on Kyng Herry's party. And ther is slayne the Lord Hungyrford, Sir Raf Percy, Sir Raff Grey, the Duk of Somershed, the Lord Roos takyn, and Taylboos the Erl

of Kym and many odyr gentyls and comons slayn on that party. How many be slayn on Kyng Edwardes party is not spoke of as yt." fol. 146, r^o.

The concluding sentence is quite satisfactory, and it imparts a very additional value to the relations contained in this most interesting manuscript.

I now pass to the celebrated tournament between the bastard of Burgundy and the Lord Scales, which took place in Smithfield in 1467. Celebrated it was, indeed, and finds a place in the briefest calendarial notitia of Edward's reign. Very curious documents relating to it have been printed from the well known Lansdowne Manuscript, in the *Excerpta Historica*, by Mr. Black. The MS. Lambeth, 306, has the following curious memorandum relative to this feat of arms on its wooden cover, nearly in pieces with the ravages of worms, and in daily danger of becoming obliterated; let us snatch the curious morçeau from the hands of destruction:—

"The listes that Anthony Lorde Scales and Anthonye the Bastarde of Burgoyne justyd yn Smythfelde, the tymbre and workemanshippe thereof cost ij^c. marke, and was of syx of the thryftiest carpenters of Londone bought and made. The lengthe vj^{xx}. taylours yarde and x. foote and iiij^{xx}. of brede, and x. foote dowbylle barred. The inner barres were mytche gretter than the utter, and betwixt bothe v. foote. The justes began the Thirsday next after Corpus Christi day, A^o.Doi. M^l. iiij^c. lxxvij, and in the vij^h. yere of Kynge Edward the iiijth. Thomas Howlegrave, Skynner, then beyng mayre of London."

The following document finds a place in an obscure corner of MS. Harl. 3810, and as it is curious and has never been printed, I take the opportunity of introducing it here:—

"By the King.

"Trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well, and doubteth not but it resteth well in your remembraunce of the inward entent and plesure which we have to here and know of your good expedition in executing of our commissions at this time; whereby ye were assigned to enquire of the graunte made unto us at our parliament for to uttre to oure conquest of France; of the which spede yet hither we have no knowledge. And forasmuch as it is

one of the things erthly that we most desire to know, we pray you and also charge you that in any wise ye attend about the same, remembering how nygh the day approacheth of youre returne in that behalve. And especiall the tyme that we have limeted through the sufferance of oure Lorde to procede in oure seid conquest, and of oure spede in this behalve we will that ye certifiye us fro tyme to tyme as the caas shall requyre. And that ye also yeve feith and credence unto oure servante berere herof in that he shal open unto you on our behalve touchyng the premisses. Yeven undre oure synett at oure manere of Shene the xxx. day of December A°. regni regis Edwardi quarti xij°. 1472."^d

This proves what I stated before, and is rather at variance with the commonly received accounts.

I may here observe that I find the Chronicle in the Arundel MS. (College of Arms) No. 5, which I have so frequently quoted, to be a continuation of the Chronicle of Peter de Ickham, and the only complete one that I know to exist. The copy in MS. Cotton. Domitian III. extends only to the year 1301; the MS. Lambeth. 22, extends to the year 1465, as also the transcript in MS. Harl. 4323; an imperfect copy is also in MS. Digby, 168, though not mentioned in the printed catalogue; but the Arundel MS. is the only perfect one, and well does it preserve printing. The latter portion is undoubtedly the most valuable contemporary history of the period.

The writer of the anonymous chronicle preserved in the library of the College of Arms asserts that about the feast of St. Michael (Sept. 29th) in the year 1464, there appeared in London a Carmelite who professed to be the Messiah, and was greatly supported by the common people. I do not find that the name of this impostor is preserved.

Dr. Lingard, in his account of the marriage of Edward's sister with the Duke of Burgundy, says, that when Edward conducted her to the coast, she rode behind the Earl of Warwick through the streets of the metropolis. But of the three manuscripts^e in the British Museum which contain accounts of

^d MS. Harl. 3810. Pars I. fol. ult. r.

^e MS. Cotton. Nero, C. ix. fol. 173, v°. 177, v°.—MS. Addit. 6113, and MS. Harl. 543. Printed in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 227.

according to the manner suggested by Junoⁱ when she wishes to accelerate the death of that hero. The immediate duty devolves upon Phoibos Apollon, who, after snatching his corpse from the slain, washes it in the Xanthus or Scamander, and delivers it over to Death and Sleep, Thanatos and Hypnos, the twin children of Night, to be transported to Lycia.^j The part here recalls the death of Glaucus,^k where Apollo delivers his body to the Winds to be borne to Lycia. The personification of Death and Sleep as winged figures is well known; their being armed is novel, and the figure behind the corpse is a female—not male, consequently neither agreeing with Apollon, to whom the figure is departing, nor the friends or brethren to whom it was delivered. Should future discoveries at Vulci or Nola further illustrate this subject, in case that we should be compelled to adopt this last explanation, Hypnos would be probably found in the light, and Thanatos in the dark-haired figure. In the myth of Memnon,^l Boreas and Zephyrus, or Zephyrus and Argestes, would be represented. I am indebted to Mr. Hamilton for the excellent suggestion that these figures recall to mind, the twin children of Boreas and Orithyia, Calais and Zetes,^m who, provided with wings like their father, chased the Harpies from the tables of Phineus, or, according to another tradition, killed the same monarch; but I cannot identify any point in their story to justify the supposition of the tutarchi of the Argo being employed in a scene similar to the present. For reasons already developed, I prefer the Winds and Memnon; from the repeated intervention of the Winds in the office of transporting the dead, and at their pyres; from the connexion of Aurora with the Attic myths; the great uniformity prevalent on the fictile vases of Italy where Memnon is a

ⁱ Iliad. xvi. 454. Πέμπειν μιν Θάνατόν τε φέρειν καὶ ἡδύμην Ὕπνον.

^j Ibid. l. 672—82.

^k Quintus Calaber, Paralip. iii. l. i. and seq.

^l Hesiod. Theog. 378, 79, 80. The antithesis here seems to be Argestes and Zephyr, Boreas and Notus. His corpse must have travelled S. E.

^m Orphei Argonaut. 219, 220. Apollonius Rhod. Argon. Apollod. Biblioth. I. c. 9. s. 20, 21. Some discrepancies occur about where they were winged. Cf. Hygin. fab. xiv. xix. Hi capita pedesque pennatos habuisse feruntur; or at their sides, Ovid Met. vi. 719, Cingere utrumque latus. On the vase in Millingen, Anc. Uned. Monuments, they are unarmed except with offensive weapons.

common, Sarpedon a new subject; from the similarity that the figure bears to acknowledged representations of the same hero; and the subject of the whole vase presenting an allusion to the vicissitudes of life and death; the obverse, the arming of the warrior; the reverse, his corpse borne along in psychopompic state to Troy or Susa to be honored,

"Τόμβον τε στήλην τε τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων."ⁿ

My views upon this subject are confirmed by the opinion of a gentleman distinguished for his researches into Athenian antiquities, while I have been recently shown a letter from M. De Witte, who independently of my researches inclines to the subject representing Sarpedon, Hypnos, and Thanatos. Believe me to remain with many thanks for your valuable suggestions,

My dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

SAMUEL BIRCH.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.
&c. &c. &c.

ⁿ Il. xvi. 675. Applied to Sarpedon. In this respect the winged figures recall to mind the Κηρὲς at the sides of contending warriors. Cf. De Witte, Cat. Durand. no. 395. Also Millin Vases Peints. iii. Pl. xlviii., where the winged soul of Hector in full armor flies off to Hades. Iliad. xxii. l. 362. For the psychopompic office of the Κηρὲς, Cf. Il. ii. l. 302, 834. Schol. ad ead. loc., and Heyne's Annot.

XI. *Explanation of the Myth upon a fictile Vase found at Canino, now in the British Museum; in a Letter from SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. addressed to EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. F.R.S., & S.A.*

Read 4th March, 1841.

7, Hawley Terrace, 1st March, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

IT is at your request and aided by your archæological experience that I have drawn up the short accompanying Memoir on a Vase recently acquired



by the British Museum from the collection of the Prince of Canino, concerning the explanation of the figures represented upon which we hold many points in common.

It is a cylix found on the Prince's estates at Canino, decorated with red figures upon a dark background; and although it has been broken into several pieces, the figures are fortunately uninjured and the fractures unimportant. The interior represents a Satyr holding in his hand a horn or cup, and on the exterior are two scenes separated from each other by

the handles. One offers a group of armed figures, and among them are two Amazons; the central figure, a youth, is engaged in putting on his greaves, while another holds his helmet. As this is a subject frequently represented on the fictile vases, I shall merely remark that the present, from the appearance of the Amazons, probably depicts Memnon arming himself in the presence of Penthesilea^a previous to his fatal combat with Achilles. The reverse of the vase presents a myth totally different and executed in larger proportions. Two youthful warriors, armed in the Greek fashion (πανοπλίζ, Ἑλληνικῇ), with helmets (κυνεαῖς), thoraces (γυαλοῖς), belts (τελαμοσσι), and short swords (μαχαιραῖς), carry horizontally the gigantic corpse of a man in the flower of his age, bearded, and totally denuded of clothing, except a wreath round his head. The youths are nearly similar, distinguished however from one another by some slight peculiarities. The one at the head is dark, and his companion light haired, and the helmet of this last is ornamented with rams heads on the cheek plates (γενιασπηρες). They are preceded by a female in a long talaric tunic, turning her head towards the corpse, which is followed by another in the attitude of lamentation.

The explanation I have proposed for this picture is—the Winds, represented by the two winged youths, bearing off the body of their brother, Memnon; the female who precedes them being Iris, and the one who follows Heos,^b or Aurora, his afflicted mother; similar to the manner in which the corpse of Sarpedon is borne off by Hypnos and Thanatos. It is unnecessary for me here to enter into any discussion of the story of Memnon, which, only alluded to by Homer, has been a favorite subject with his successors, the poets of the epic cycle. The circumstances which led to his fall are also amply detailed by Mr. Millingen, in his *Ancient Unedited Monuments* (Series I. p. 11—15). After his death by the hand of Achilles the Greeks spoil him, and Heos or Aurora, attended by the Winds, flies

In the painting of Lesche at Delphi, Memnon and Penthesilea were represented together. Cf. Paus. x. Phocica.

^b The winged type of Aurora, whose Doric form Ἄω is analogous to ἀημι, spirare, suggests that she herself was a wind. In the story of Procris and Cephalus he invokes her as Aura, (Ovid. Met. vii. xxviii.), while her Latin name, Aurora, confirms this reading. Vide Hermann Ueber das Wesen, &c. 98. On the Vases, Heos.

down to the plains of Troy, hovers over the dying hero, and, swiftly snatching up his corse, bears it through the air. "Heos," says the poet, "groaned, and the earth was overspread by clouds and darkened, while at one accord, all the Winds were borne at the command of their mother rapidly to the plain of Priam, and hovered around the dying. And they swiftly raised up the son of Aurora, and bore him through the hoar air. Their heart was grieved on account of their dead brother. Ether groaned around."

Ἡὼς δ' ἐστονάχῃσε, καλυψαμένη νεφέεσσιν
Ἠχλύνθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα· θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες αἰῆται
Μητρὸς ἐφημοσύνησι, βίῃ φορέοντο κελεύθῳ
Ἐς πεδῖον Πριάμοιο, καὶ ἀμφεχέοντο θανόντι,
Οἱ τ' ἀνιρέψαντο θοῶς Ἡαῖον υἷα,
Καὶ ἔφερον πολιοῖο δι' ἥερος· ἄχυντο δέ σφι
Θυμὸς, ἀδελφειοῖο δεδουπότος· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰθήρ
Ἔστενε·

Quint. Cal. Par. B. 548—65.

Again,

————— "οἳ δ' ἐπέτοντο
θοῶς ὁμβριμον υἷα θεοὶ φέροντες αἰῆται."

Id. 565—67.

This peculiar myth is limited to the Paralipomena of Quintus Calaber, supposed to embody the Αἰθίοπις of Arctinus; for the descriptions of Ovid and Philostratus merely mention that the goddess herself obtains the corpse of her favoured child from Zeus. The subject of Memnon, his monomachia with Achilles, the Pscychostasia which accompanies it, and the acquisition of his body by Aurora, were favorite subjects with the Græco-Italian artists, who usually represent this part of his history by Heos winged, carrying off her son in her arms. It is thus that Memnon is borne off on the vase of Mr. W. R. Hamilton, published by Mr. Millingen.^d Although the Winds are

^c Metam. xiii. sec. iii. 2 Icon. lib. i. c. 7. She there obtains furtively the body of her son,—ἴν' ἐγγενῆται οἱ κλέψαι τὸν υἱόν.

^d Anc. Un. Mon. 1 Series, loc. cit.

frequently depicted on works of ancient art, I am not aware of any where they appear armed, their usual type being that of winged men, clad in a short tunic, shod with endromides or hunting boots, and provided with wings.^e There is however a passage in the *Dionysiaca* of the Alexandrian writer Nonnus, in which Zephyrus and his companions put on armour to aid Dionysos against the Indians, an idea probably taken from a picture.

“Καὶ πισύραις κατὰ πόντον ἐφιππεύοντες ἀέλλαις
Κύματα πυργώσαντες ἙΘΩΡΗΧΘΗΣΑΝ ἄηται
* * * * *

Καὶ Ζέφυρος ΚΕΚΟΡΥΤΣΤΟ.”

Nonnus *Dionys.* xxxix. l. 378—80.

The fact then of the Winds being armed is supported by a writer of a late epoch indeed, but who notwithstanding mixes up a deal of information otherwise lost; and in the present instance the Winds may be conceived to have adopted this type in order to glide into the strife and carry off more readily the body of their brother. The connection of Iris with the Winds is alluded to by Homer, for she summons Boreas and Zephyrus to the pyre of Patroclus, as Hermes in the work of Q. Calaber^f does to that of Achilles. She was also the sister of the Harpies,^g now well understood to represent the storms or whirlwinds. On the present vase she appears unprovided with wings, a form rather unusual, but perhaps adopted to avoid the unpleasant pictorial effect of too many winged figures. Iris in this respect recalls the unwinged Nike, common on vases of a secondary era, and this goddess or Nike appears on the coins of Terina Brettiorum, holding in one hand a caduceus. The apteral Heos^h or Aurora is so common as scarcely to require more than this remark.

Another subject which might be applied to the figures is,—Thanatos and Hypnos bearing off the body of Sarpedon to Lycia, accompanied by Iris,

^e They appear thus on the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, in Stuart's *Athens*, I. Ch. 3. Pl. 3. and on some of the fictile vases.

^f *Paralip.* iii. l. 696.

^g *Hesiod. Theog.* 265—269.

^h De Witte, *Descript. des Vases*, p. 33, No. 70. Par. 1837, on which Aurora, Hermes, and Iris appear together.

this marriage, the most ancient merely implies that he accompanied her. Carte says that "perhaps as Lord Chamberlain of England, or the most considerable nobleman in the realm, to do her the greater honor."^f This question is therefore doubtful; but Dr. Lingard errs in saying that Edward accompanied his sister to the coast: from the Cottonian manuscript we learn that on the first day of the journey the King and the Queen spent the night with her at the Abbey of Stratford; that thence Margaret took her pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; but that on the Friday next after the nativity of St. John the Baptist, she shipped at Margate, where the King came and parted with her. Dr. Lingard^g again makes an error of a week in the date of the marriage, for Paston's letter giving an account of the ceremony is dated on Friday the 8th of July, and of course therefore refers to the preceding and not the following sabbath: the marriage was therefore performed on Sunday the 3rd of July, 1468, the ceremony commencing, according to the Cottonian manuscript, between the hours of five and six in the morning: Dr. Lingard therefore slightly errs in placing the actual ceremony so early as five in the morning, nor do I think, on examination, that the passage in Fenn's Letters to which Dr. Lingard refers, implies more than the account given in the Cottonian MS. Paston,^h in one of his letters, says that the pageants, performed after the marriage from Damme to Bruges, were the best that he had ever seen.

The articles which Stowe says were devised by the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Willoughby and Welles, before "the field of the Lincolnshire Men," are printed in the Notes to Warkworth's Chronicle.ⁱ This was the celebrated insurrection of Robin of Redesdale;

History of England, vol. ii. p. 774. See also Hearne's Fragment, p. 296.

^f History of England, 4th edition, vol. v. p. 189.

^g Fenn's Letters, vol. ii. p. 4. It is rather singular that Paradin alludes very slightly to this marriage; vid. *Annales de Bourgogne*, fol. Lyons, 1566, p. 920.

ⁱ I printed them from a roll in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, but I have since found two copies in the British Museum;—MS. Harl. 543, fol. 166, v^o. and Rot. Cotton. IV. 61, which last is rather imperfect. The commencement of them is also transcribed in MS. li. 3. 26, in the Public Library at Cambridge, and in a contemporary chronicle recently published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. J. J. Smith.

and Stowe (MS. Harl. 543) has preserved the following curious distich used by that party, which has escaped the notice of every historian :—

“ God be our guide,
And then shall we spede,
Whosoever say nay.
“ Fals for the moné pillith,
Trewthe for his talles spilethe,
God send us a fayre day! ”^k

The spot where the battle of Banbury was fought is, by an unique authority,^l called *Saxon-felde*. Lingard says that after this battle Earl Rivers and Sir John Widvile were seized, brought to Northampton, and executed by the order of Clarence and Warwick, on the 12th of August : in point of fact they were executed at Coventry on the 20th of September. The Doctor adds, that the Earl of Devon was beheaded at Bridgewater on August 17th: it should be the 16th of September.^m

^k The Arundel Chronicle, speaking of Robin of Redesdale, says, “ cui associati sunt militi qui petitionarii petentes multa corrigi in regno.” Against these, according to the same authority, King Edward went on the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr.

^l “ In vigilia Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, tempore Regis Edwardi Quarti, fuit bellum apud Banbury inter Anglos et Wallicos in campo vocato *Saxon-Felde*.”—MS. Cotton. Domitian IV. (1469) fol. 256, v°. “ Prelium ad Hegecote, seu Danysmore, prope Banburiam, dictum Banbery Feld, seu Hegecote Feld.”—MS. Tanner, Bodl. 2. fol. 104, v°.

^m MS. Cotton. Domit. No. IV. fol. 256, v°.

**XII. Observations on Roman Remains recently found in London:
in a Letter from CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. to JOHN
GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq. F.R.S. Director.**

Read 25th February and March 4th 1841.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER the lapse of some few years, I resume the subject of discoveries of Roman remains in London. Since the spring of 1836 (when I first had the honour of submitting the result of my exertions to the notice of the Society) there has been little or no intermission to excavations carried on throughout the City for what is termed "*City Improvements*," and for sewerage, all of which have been more or less productive in furnishing means for throwing light on the state of London and its inhabitants in a remote and interesting period of their history.

As a preliminary and necessary observation, I must repeat a remark I formerly made, and which must be always kept in view; that these excavations are made only at particular places, and at irregular periods, and that, being conducted in certain predetermined directions of narrow width, they are, after all, but as intersecting and unconnecting lines, shewing us here and there glimpses only of what lies buried under the mighty masses of modern London. No provision is made by the body corporate of our venerable city to turn aside the axe and spade at the approach to a frescoed wall, or a rich mosaic pavement; the hand of unchecked ignorance in a few minutes destroys what time had spared, and often before it is possible for the antiquary to make even a memorandum of the fact. These and other impediments will explain why in many instances I content myself with merely alluding to the existence of buildings or other remains without supplying details.

The extent of London, when first colonized by the Romans, must have been of very circumscribed bounds. It was not perhaps until a very late epoch that its gradually increased limits demanded that wide circumvallation, the line of which is well ascertained, though its remains are now with

difficulty to be traced here and there, and are daily decreasing and becoming less easy to be recognised.

Recent discoveries throw much light on the gradual growth of the Romano-British metropolis. They indicate the localities of walls and buildings of great strength and solidity, now at a considerable distance from the banks of the Thames, but formerly nearer its bounds, which were less defined and subject to overflowings from the unembanked and undrained state of the adjacent country. It must have been the work of long and prosperous settlement to extend the City from Blackfriars to the Tower in length, and from the Thames to Moorfields in width. That this was accomplished by degrees, I think is proved by the strong evidence of funereal interments.

These have been often discovered in situations the most incompatible with the existence of dwelling-houses at the period of sepulture, and with the habits and customs of the Romans. In many instances have urns containing bones been found contiguous to and even under the remains of houses. The latter doubtless had been erected long posterior to the deposit of the former, which must have been made at a period when the site selected was at a considerable distance from what then constituted the Town, the well known prudence and delicacy of the Romans forbidding the inhumation of the dead near the abodes of the living.

In the autumn of 1839, a skeleton was discovered in the middle of Bow Lane, at the depth of fifteen feet, lying north and south, in a kind of grave formed with the large drain tiles placed edgewise. In its mouth was a second-brass coin, so much corroded as to be quite illegible and defaced. Nearer Cheapside, at some distance from the skeleton, were abundant remains of pavements, walls and frescoes.

We must suppose this interment and those found in the same line to be some of the very earliest, and made in the infant state of the city; those met with at a distance more remote, such as Moorgate Street, Bishopsgate, and Houndsditch, may be assigned to intermediate periods, as the city advanced to its ultimate extent, when Shoreditch, Moorfields, Goodman's Fields, Spitalfields, Whitechapel,^a and Holborn^b were resorted to as burial places. Along

^a See *Archaeologia*, vol. XXVII.; Woodward's Letter to Wren; Stow; and Maitland.

^b Mr. R. Kelsey, of the Sewers' Office, informs me, that a few years since some Roman

the line of the London Wall at Finsbury, was found a large number of urns, and an inscription to Grata, the daughter of Dagobitus, by her husband Solinus.^c

The extensive remains on the Surrey side of the Thames, lead me to believe that a more considerable portion of Southwark than is generally imagined ought to be comprised in Londinium.

Gale, in his Commentaries on the Itinerary of Antoninus, remarks, "It is highly probable that a Roman station, denominated London, was erected in St. George's Fields, to secure their conquests on that side of the river, before they reduced the Trinobantes," &c.

Salmon,^d Woodward,^e and others, partly from the authority of Ptolemy and the monk of Ravennas, and partly from the prevalence of Roman remains, are of the same opinion. Other writers have denied that Londinium was either originally situated on the Surrey side of the Thames, or included any portion of the southern banks of the river. We shall not greatly err, I think, in fixing the truth midway between these opinions.

That the county of Kent was far more advanced in civilization than the rest of Britain is distinctly affirmed by Cæsar, corroborated by the numerous remains of subordinate Stations and Villas spread over this fertile county, connected by vicinal roads with the sea coasts, with the well-understood lines of road running from Rutupium and Dubris, to Londinium, and doubtless with others leading to the Portus Lemanis, and to the East of Sussex. The intercourse then between this county and the metropolis would be constant, both as regards commerce and the influx of foreign traders and merchants, as well as the continual marching of troops to the internal parts of the empire. Though we have no direct evidence of the existence of a bridge or *trajectus*, yet I conceive we should find it difficult to imagine that the Romans could neglect constructing so essential a medium of intercourse.

remains were met with at Holborn Hill, at the depth of eighteen feet. They consisted of an earthen urn, filled with burnt bones, and a large quantity of broken pottery, of a pale red kind, inclosed in an oaken case, measuring two feet nine inches square. A most extensive excavation has been lately made in this district, in the line of the Fleet Ditch, which might have been turned to advantage for further evidence with regard to the disputed antiquity of the entrance to London by the present line of road from Holborn to Newgate Street, but I failed in gaining from the Court of Common Council, access to the works.

^c See *Gent. Mag.* Oct. 1837. ^d *Survey of England.* ^e Letter to Wren, 1711.

The passage would then be necessarily protected by fortifications, and the erection of dwelling-houses would speedily follow. In making the approaches to the new London Bridge, on the Southwark side, vast remains of buildings were encountered, extending, almost from the river side, a considerable way inland; unfortunately, these discoveries were not attended to with the care they merited, or they might have led to important conclusions on the point in question.^f But during the digging for the foundations of the extensive warehouses adjoining St. Saviour's Church, copious evidence of the site having been occupied by buildings was supplied in the traces of walls, tessellæ, frescoes, amphoræ, domestic utensils, and coins. Among the last was a specimen of the Decursio type of Nero, in large brass, and the Pax Augusti of Vespasian in second brass, both finely preserved, together with denarii of Vespasian and Severus. Bronze pateræ were also found with the dolphin pattern ornaments; lamps in terra-cotta, and abundance of Samian and other pottery. A few years since a tessellated pavement, apparently in fine condition, was discovered by Mr. George Gwilt, on the south side of the church. The large collection of glass and earthen vessels, lamps, &c. in the possession of this gentleman, serve to support the claim of this locality to be included in Londinium. It is true, the site on the Surrey side of the river is low, and in part boggy, and must, therefore, have been less favourable for building than the opposite shore. It was evidently at times subjected to overflowings of the river, but natural disadvantages were easily surmounted by the skill and perseverance of the Romans. In boggy as well as in loose sandy foundations, huge piles of timber were driven in to counteract these obstacles. On these piles were usually placed, first, a thick stratum of chalk, then a layer of rubble and tiles cemented together. On this solid substructure, the houses were as firm and secure as on the best natural foundations. This mode was adopted in Thames Street, near the Tower, and in other parts of the city. An example was also furnished during the progress of excavations for the south wing of St. Thomas's Hospital in the spring of last year, when a perfect tessellated flooring of a room was laid open, together with walls and passages leading to other apart-

^f See Sir W. Dugdale's *History of Embanking*, p. 65; Bagford's *Letter to Hearne*, in the *Lelandi Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 58; and, in illustration of recent discoveries, Mr. Gwilt's *Collection*, and a paper by Mr. Corner in vol. XXV. of the *Archæologia*.

ments, all of which were found to have been built on piles. About twenty feet north of the house were procured coins of Claudius, Domitian, Valens, and Gratian, a terra-cotta lamp and pottery, and on the tessellated floor itself were picked up several of the small brass coins of the Constantine family, which shew that this house was occupied at least as late as the period when they were in circulation. As minute details of the remains of the building would be tedious, I must refer you to a plan which Mr. J. G. Waller has very kindly supplied me with, together with other drawings illustrative of objects described in my present communication.

But the occurrence of vestiges of permanent occupancy of this locality by the Romans, is almost uninterrupted from the river to St. George's Church in the line of the present High Street. As late as the close of the last year, considerable remains were disclosed on the right of the street about a hundred yards north of this church, consisting of flue and roof tiles, urns, Samian pottery, beads, a small bell, fragments of glass bottles, a large brass coin of Faustina the elder, plated denarii of Tiberius and Severus, and small brass of Tetricus, together with fresco paintings of a description very superior to those generally met with in London. These last were of a variety of colours and patterns, some composed of a dark ground with borders of green, red and white stripes, others exhibiting foliage and flowers in green, white, and yellow, on a dark ground. Most of these paintings appear to have been executed at two distinct periods. Over the original, which is red, a layer of composition has been spread, which has been coloured in a different style. This most probably must have taken place many years after the first decoration, as the permanency of the pigments used by the ancients would almost preclude the necessity of renovation. I exhibit a specimen in which I have partly cut away the upper layer to shew the under and original one, still firm and unfaded. Corroborative of the extent of the city on the Surrey side of the Thames, may be mentioned the burial-ground in the Kent Road on which the Dissenters' chapel stands, where the deposits of urns containing burnt bones and coins have been so frequently and in such numbers discovered, as to leave no doubt of the coeval populousness of the neighbourhood. In 1835, a communication was made to the Society on the subject, by Mr. Kempe.* To the present day scarcely

* *Archaeologia*, vol. XXVI.

does an interment take place in the modern burying place without revealing a portion of the unexhausted remains of the Roman cemetery.

Deferring the consideration of a question which naturally intrudes on our attention, namely, the bridge or medium of connection of the two divisions of the city, let us retrace our steps to the opposite shore.

We are enabled to obtain correct knowledge of the extent of many of the Roman towns in Britain by the durability of their walls, many of which, as those of Vindomus and Verulamium, are still more or less discernible: but Londinium, never depopulated or abandoned, growing in strength and power, has long since liberated herself from mural boundaries. In a very few years, the very vestiges of her walls will be swept away by the ruthless hand of *soi. disant* improvement.

The line of the wall on the land side is, however, well ascertained: of that portion which Fitz Stephen informs us bounded the city on the banks of the Thames, many persons have hitherto been in doubt; though without reason, as I shall presently show. At the same time what Fitz Stephen adds relative to this wall on the water side being overturned and destroyed by the water, seems altogether erroneous and improbable, as the Roman masonry is well known to be impervious to the action of that element. The present Thames Street follows the line of the Roman wall.

A few months since some valuable contributions to our scanty topographical materials were furnished, which confirm the account given us of the line of the Wall by the before mentioned author. The excavations for sewerage, which led to the discovery I am about to detail, commenced at Blackfriars. The workmen having advanced, without impediment, to the foot of Lambeth Hill, were there checked by a wall of extraordinary strength, which formed an angle with the Hill and Thames Street. Upon this wall the contractor for the sewers was obliged to open his course to the depth of about twenty feet; so that the greater portion of the structure had to be overthrown, to the great consumption of time and labour. The delay occasioned by the solidity and thickness of this wall, gave me an opportunity of making careful notes as to its construction and course.

It extends (as far as I had the means of observing) from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe, with occasional breaks. In thickness it measured from eight to ten feet. The height from the bottom of the sewer was about eight feet, in

some places more or less; it reached to within about nine feet from the present street, and three from that which indicates the period of the fire of London, in this district easily recognised. In some places, the ground-work of the houses destroyed by the fire of 1666 abut on the wall.

The foundation was made in the following manner. Oaken piles were first used; upon these was laid a stratum of chalk and stones, and then a course of hewn sand-stones from three to four feet, by two and two and a half, firmly cemented with the well known compound of quick lime, sand, and pounded tile. Upon this solid substructure was built the wall, composed of rag and flint, with layers of red and yellow, plain and curved-edged tiles. The mortar throughout was quite equal in strength to the tiles, from which it could not be separated by force.

One of the most remarkable features of this wall is the evidence it affords of the existence of an anterior building, which from some cause or other must have been destroyed. Many of the large stones above mentioned are sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, which denote their prior use in a frieze or entablature of an edifice, the magnitude of which may be conceived from the fact of these stones weighing, in many instances, upwards of half a ton. Whatever might have been the nature of this structure, its site, or cause of its overthrow, we have no means of determining. The probability of its destruction having been effected by the insurgent Britons under Boadicea suggests itself. I observed, also, that fragments of sculptured marble had been worked into the wall, and also a portion of a stone carved with an elegant ornament of the trellis-work pattern, the compartments being filled alternately with leaves and fruit. This has apparently belonged to an altar. In Thames Street, opposite Queen Street, about two years since, a wall, precisely similar in general character, was met with; and there is but little doubt of its having originally formed part of the same.

When Londinium was first fortified with walls we are ignorant. Its defenceless state, in the time of Nero, when together with Verulamium and Camalodunum it was ravaged by the Britons is well known; and a long time subsequent, it would appear to have been equally unfit to oppose an invading force, as Mamertinus relates that, after the defeat of Allectus, the city was easily captured by the troops of Asclepiodotus. I think the most reasonable suppositions to be that they were either thrown up on the reco-

very of the province by Constantius, or, still later, by Theodosius, who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, *instaurabat urbes et præsidaria, castra limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis*: Lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

I will now call your attention to other remarkable discoveries.

In London Wall, opposite Finsbury Chambers, at the depth of nineteen feet, what appeared to have been a subterranean Aqueduct was laid open. It was found to run towards Finsbury, under the houses of the Circus, about twenty feet. At the termination were five iron bars fastened perpendicularly into the masonry, apparently for the purpose of preventing the weeds and sedge from choking the watercourse. At the opening of this work, towards the city, was an arch, three feet six inches high, from the crown to the springing wail, and three feet three inches wide, composed of fifty tiles, disposed as shown in the engraving (Plate XVII. fig. 7.); the spandrels were filled in with rag stone, to afford strength to the work. This arch was not worked on a centre, but corbeled over by hand, the key-stone being half a tile and cement.

This aqueduct took a southern course for about sixty yards, where it terminated. The workmen informed me that the entrance was evidently above ground and open to the air, as large quantities of moss, retaining its natural appearance, still adhered to the masonry. I observed an instance of the durability of this vegetable substance in the discovery of a large wide-mouthed vase, near Lothbury, in which was placed, probably as a cover to bones or ashes, a turf of moss, still compact and possessing much of its original character.

In clearing out this ancient work many urns of black earth were found, with a gold ring, set with a garnet, on which is engraved a horse, running at full speed, in the best style of workmanship.^b This neighbourhood was rather fruitful in Roman remains, in which may be particularised, knives, a pair of scissors, drinking cups, brass rings, Samian pottery, and coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Pius, Aurelius, and the Faustinae. A Pius, in second brass, has the scarce and interesting reverse of Britannia. All the coins found in this line of the sewerage were finely preserved, as indeed were all the metal implements and ornaments.

The course of the sewerage up Bloomfield Street was marked by the well known natural features of the locality, demonstrating its original boggy and

^b Now in the possession of John Newman, Esq. F.S.A.

marshy character.^g Portions, however, seem to have been partly drained or filled in by the Romans, as towards Eldon Street many well preserved urns were found, probably deposited for funereal purposes. Opposite Liverpool Street a circular piece of thin brass was picked up, on which is a representation of Romulus and Remus, suckled by the wolf under the fig-tree :

Arbor erat : remanent vestigia : quæque vocatur

Rumina nunc ficus, Romula ficus erat.

Venit ad expositos (mirum) lupa foeta gemellos.^h

In Eldon Street, on the north of Finsbury Circus, as the excavations proceeded westward, the traces of the ancient moor became fainter, and were at last lost in undisturbed native gravel.

Threadneedle Street has furnished us with some rich specimens of the ornamented Samian pottery, with bronze fibulæ, and coins.

Leadenhall Street abounded in the *debris* of buildings. Here we found an elegantly worked head of a bacchante, in glass, of a dark blue and white. It had formed the base of a handle to a vase or cup, such as are figured in Montfaucon. Similar heads, but in green glass, have been procured from East Cheap. We also obtained from this street a beautiful specimen of what we term the Romano-British pottery, of a thin fabric, and ornamented with figures of dogs and hares. That this peculiar kind of ware was manufactured in Britain, we have the authority of Mr. Artis for deciding, who discovered several in the pottery near Caistor, in Northamptonshire ;ⁱ but it does not appear restricted to Britain, having been discovered as frequently in France and Flanders.

In Fenchurch Street, between Mincing Lane and Billiter Street, the soil incumbent on the Roman level extended to twelve and fourteen feet. About two feet lower, that is to say, sixteen feet beneath the present surface, were abundance of tiles, mortar, and fresco, with pottery, a terra-cotta female head, and a mill-stone.

At the entrance of Lime-street from Fenchurch-street, the ground was thickly intersected with walls as far as Cullum-street, where the excavations ceased. These were all well built. Heaps of fresco-paintings lay in juxta-

^g It may be mentioned that an immense number of human skulls were found throughout this street.

^h Ovid. Fasti, Lib. ii. l. 411, &c.

ⁱ See Artis's "Durobrivæ Identified."

position, and clearly corroborated the indications afforded by the numerous walls, that this part of the city must have been thickly populated. Throughout Seething-lane, and especially in the vicinity and close to St. Olave's church walls, tessellated pavements were cut through. On one of the latter, or very near, was found a fragment of sculptured stone in alto-relievo, representing three clothed figures seated, with baskets of fruit in their laps. Only the lower half of this group was remaining; as it was unwashed and instantly carried off by the overseer of the works, I had no means of making a satisfactory examination of it. Opposite St. Benet's-place in Gracechurch-street, in digging the foundation for two houses, the pavements of Roman dwellings, which occupied the site, were laid open. But I have here to remark, that I did not perceive any walls crossing Gracechurch-street, although openings were in several places made in the middle of the street. While on the East Cheap side, and throughout Little East Cheap, towards the Tower, foundations of houses were found at every step, and at the usual depth, varying from twelve to eighteen or twenty feet; here the native gravelly soil was comparatively superficial, a fact which would materially support the opinion of the present Gracechurch-street and Old Fish-street Hill occupying the route of one of the Roman roads, which would be that leading through Ad Fines, Durolipons, Durobrivæ, &c.

A similar absence of the usual indications of buildings I observed in Cannon-street. But the more we see of the subterranean parts of London, the greater hesitation should we feel in attempting to lay down plans of the position and direction of the ancient streets, or in adopting those already put forth. It is much the safer and wiser course to remain in scepticism on points which with present evidence cannot be satisfactorily settled, than to come to conclusions upon partial data. A dedicatory altar has often prompted a fertile imagination to find a temple, and many other *non-sequiturs* have been formed and persisted in from the ascendancy of zeal over judgement.

In the middle of Pudding-lane, running to the bottom, and, as the workmen told me, even across Thames-street, is a strong wall, formed of layers of red and yellow tiles, and rag-stones, which appeared to have appertained to a building of considerable extent. The hypocaust belonging thereto was partly laid open, as shewn with the adjoining wall in the engraving. (Plate XVIII.)

In Queen-street, near Thames-street, several walls crossed the street; among them were found two thin bands of pure gold, apparently used for armlets,^k and midway, opposite Well Court, at the depth of thirteen feet, was a flooring of red tesserae, fourteen feet square. Three or four feet above ran chalk walls, such as are met with throughout London, which, of course, are subsequent to the Roman epoch.

Throughout Paternoster-row, a variety of interesting objects were procured, such as amphoræ, some of very capacious dimensions, fragments of glass vessels, and bone-pins for the hair. An extensive and superb tessellated pavement, discovered at the depth of twelve feet six inches, was cut through and destroyed during my unavoidable absence from the works. I gathered the following particulars from a person who was present at its destruction. It extended at least forty feet. The border of the pavement, as far as I can decide from the description, was composed of the rich guilloche pattern, inclosing rosettes. Towards the centre were compartments, in which, in variegated colours, were depicted birds and beasts. In one division was an object resembling a star-fish. This meagre account, calculated only to excite curiosity and regret, is all I am able to supply; nor can I give more satisfactory information on a portion of another fine pavement, discovered under similar circumstances in Bartholomew lane, near the Bank. Of this a large piece was preserved by the "City Authorities," but where it has been deposited I cannot learn. I must not pass over the remains found in Paternoster-row, without mentioning that at a depth somewhat greater than the position of the pavement, was a skeleton in a framework of tiles, an interment analogous to that found in Bow-lane.

A tessellated pavement, found beneath the cellar of Mr. Volkman, 101, Bishopsgate-street-within, has met with a better fate than those just referred to. This was discovered in October, 1839, in sinking a square drain, but was only laid open to the extent of 30½ inches by 24. The proprietor, on being made sensible of the interest attached to this work of art, ordered bricks to be laid over, so that it is preserved for any future investigation, should an opportunity occur. It lies fifty-three feet from the street, and fifteen from the Excise Yard, and is thirteen feet in depth from the level of

^k Now in the British Museum.

the street. The portion opened appears to be merely part of one compartment of a floor. It is composed of black and white tesserae arranged in squares and diamonds, as exhibited in the sketch, (Plate XVII. figg. 1, 2.) by the side of which I have ventured to offer a restoration of the pattern. In the same cellar, a few years since, stood an arch contiguous to the street, which was described to me as having been formed of square flat tiles, laid in mortar of such extreme hardness, that the structure was with difficulty pulled down.¹

I now proceed to detail the results of the excavations in Bush-lane and its vicinity. Advancing up the lane, several walls of considerable thickness were crossed, which, together with abundance of fresco-paintings, portions of tessellated pavements and tiles, betokened the former appropriation of the site for dwelling-houses. But opposite Scot's Yard a formidable wall of extraordinary thickness was found to cross the street diagonally. It measured in width twenty feet. It was built of flints and rag, with occasional masses of tiles. On the north side, however, there was such a preponderance of flints, and on the south such a marked excess of ragstone, as to justify raising a question as to whether one half might not have been constructed at a period subsequent to the other, though the reason for an addition to a ten-foot wall is not apparent. So firmly had time solidified the mortar and ripened its power, that the labourers, in despair of being able to demolish the wall, were compelled literally to drill a tunnel through it to admit the sewer. Whatever might have been the original destination of this wall, whether it formed part of a public building or a citadel, it must have been perverted from its primary destination at some period during the Roman dynasty. The excavation was carried to the depth of fifteen feet, the remains of the wall appearing six feet below the street level. Adjoining the north side of the wall, and running absolutely upon it, was a pavement of white tesserae, together with a flooring of lime and pounded tiles, supporting the tiles of a hypocaust in rows of about one dozen, two feet apart; with these

¹ It is so seldom that I have witnessed, during my researches in London, either in public bodies or in private individuals, any disposition to encourage or tolerate antiquarian investigation, that an instance of an intelligent and conservative spirit deserves especial notice. I therefore make honourable mention of Mr. John Shelton, who very promptly gave notice of the discovery of this pavement, and was thus instrumental in saving it.

were several of the square, hollow tiles, such as were inserted in the walls of domestic habitations, for conveying the heated air from the hypocaust to the apartments, but which were here somewhat out of place, and adapted for the purpose of pillars, by being filled with mortar. These remains must therefore have been long posterior to the erection of the great wall crossing this lane. It appears that this wall was met with in digging foundations for houses, after the great fire of London, and has served to furnish Maitland with reasons for imagining that it formed part of the boundary of the city on the Thames side;¹ but if it were ever a work of this kind, it would rather have been the northern than the southern limit. That it was not the latter, appears clear enough. It is always easier in these matters to say what a thing is *not*, than what it *is*. If this wall ever constituted a portion of the city boundary, it must have been at a very early period, when the infant metropolis was comparatively circumscribed and its boundaries and arrangements altogether on a plan and scale far different from those of later times. The remaining portion of Bush-lane was intersected by the walls of houses as far as Cannon-street; the last met with running under the pavement of that street.

In Scot's Yard, opposite the great wall, at the depth of eight feet, was another wall, eight feet thick, composed entirely of the oblong tiles and mortar. It descended to the depth of thirteen feet, where, alongside, were pavements of lime and gravel, such in fact as are used as substrata for tessellæ, and are still, in many parts of the country, employed for the floorings of barns.

In Chequers-court, leading from Bush-lane, I picked up from among many broken tiles, a fragment inscribed P · PR · B-, with the lower part of another letter, which appears to have been an R. (Plate XVII. figg. 3, 4.) This inscription is evidently connected with others which have occurred in various parts of the city and its vicinity. The second has only the termination of an impression, -BR;

¹ Gale, *Com. Ant. Iter.* p. 89, and Maitland, *Hist. Lond.* p. 12. It is probable that both the wall in Bush Lane, and the remains adjoining in Scot's Yard, were noticed on this occasion. The wall mentioned by Gale, "*miræ crassitudinis et firmitatis*," seems identical with the former; the tessellated pavements, and other vestigia of houses, are evidently connected with the latter.

the third, found in Bloomfield-street, Finsbury, reads -P BR LON. (Plate XVII. fig. 5.) In this at least one letter preceding the P. is gone. The fourth specimen is entire, on a perfect tile, nine inches square, and one and a half inch thick, and varies from the others. It reads PRB LON. (fig. 6.) This tile was found about two months since in Lambeth-hill, with another precisely similar, lying with a large oblong tile on a flooring of concrete, about ten yards to the north of a wall four feet thick, which seems to form an angle with the portion of the Thames-street wall, before described as running up Lambeth-hill. These inscriptions, originally designed but to certify to the particular make of the humble material on which they are impressed, and never intended but for a local purpose, become in the critical eye of the topographer of the greatest interest. They are perhaps the earliest, as I believe they are the only recorded instances of the occurrence of the word Londinium in Roman inscriptions, if we except the P.LON on the coins of the Constantine family, and the initials ML (supposed to signify the same) on those of Carausius and Allectus. The BR occurring in two, and the BR (Bri) in one, I conceive must mean Britannicus, or Britannia, the P, PR, may be *per præfectum*, or *pro præfecto*, denoting that the tiles had been made for some public works, under the immediate care or order of the præfect, by which their identity might be guaranteed, in case the actual maker or contractor had supplied bad materials.^m The PRB-LON might, however, simply mean, *Probatum Londinii*, proved (of the proper quality) at London. As all these inscriptions are different, it is very probable we may find, at some future period, perfect specimens of the defective ones, or further varieties, which may enable us to give a positive and correct reading of the questionable part; of the latter, the LON, there can be no doubt. The word Londinium first occurs in Tacitus, lib. xiv. cap. 33. "Londinium,—copiâ negotiatorum et comæmentuum maximè celebre," &c. Subsequently, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, it was called Augusta. In speaking of the marching of Theodosius from Rutupium to Londinium to quell the Picts and Scots, he observes, "egressus tendensque ad Lundinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam

^m Other readings will doubtless suggest themselves; the PR may perhaps with equal propriety stand for *Præses* or *Procurator*.

posteritas adpellavit." ^a Lib. 27. The absence of inscriptions among the Roman remains in London is striking, but doubtless to be accounted for in the same manner that we must explain the non-existence of temples, public buildings, and the city walls. Every stone, like every inch of ground in London, has its value. Continued building and rebuilding, for centuries, has never allowed inscribed stones to sink into the safe obscurity which in less populated and more remote stations has shielded these memorials of our predecessors from the hands of ignorance and avarice. But "though the gold be wanting"—though our Londinium cannot rival in remains of public buildings, costly statues, and sculptured sarcophagi and altars, the towns of the mother-country, yet the reflective antiquary can still find materials to work on,—can point to the localities of the less obtrusive and imposing, but not less useful structures—the habitations of the mercantile and trading population of this ever mercantile town. The numerous works of ancient art which have been yet preserved, afford us copious materials for studying the habits, manners, and customs of the Roman colonists; the introduction and state of many of the arts during their long sojourn in Britain, and their positive or probable influence on the British inhabitants. This is, in fact, the high aim and scope of the science of antiquities — to study mankind through their works.

It appears that we have no direct testimony to the existence of a bridge across the Thames at London in the time of the Romans. Dion Cassius, who wrote in the early part of the third century, alludes to a bridge when recording the invasion of Britain by the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 44). He states that "the Britons having fled to the Thames, towards the mouth of the river, easily forded it, well knowing the shallows and depths; while the Romans pursuing, were, from their ignorance of the fordable parts, greatly endangered. But the Gauls again setting sail and *some of them having passed over by the bridge* further up the Thames, they attacked the Britons on every side with great slaughter; but, blindly pursuing the fugitives, many perished in the bogs and marshes." ^o

This notice of a bridge, though not entirely satisfactory as to locality, is

^a This spelling of the word Londinium is probably a corruption. See Burton, Com. Ant. Iter. p. 163.

^o Dion-Cassius, Lib. LX. Sec. 20.

clear and positive as to the very early erection of one somewhere at or near London. It is not likely that if a bridge had not been thrown across the Thames either at that early period or in subsequent times; that this historian would have written as he did. The only question that may be raised, appears to be the possibility of this author's speaking of the bridge, in the time of Claudius, merely because one was known to him at the period when he wrote (almost two centuries later).

But the difficulty appears to me to rest in attempting to deny the existence of a bridge across the Thames at London at any period during the positive settlement of that people in Britain. That the Romans, to whom the building of bridges was an every-day business, should have omitted erecting a work so indispensable for the continual traffic and intercourse between the two divisions of their chief city, and so necessary for communication from all parts of the province, is quite inconceivable and contrary to their usual custom and policy. They spared no labour in conveying from remote quarries stupendous stones for foundations of walls and buildings (as we have seen), compared with which the construction of a bridge would not be more difficult of accomplishment nor less necessary. Indeed the neighbouring forests would have furnished materials in abundance. The proximate station of Pontes, the *Ad Pontem* in the North, the *Pons Ælii*, *Tripon-tium*, *Durolipons*, and the names of other stations compounded of *Duro* (water) and *Briva* (a bridge), can, I think, leave us in no doubt as to the common occurrence of bridges in Britain.

My position is, first, that with such a people as the Romans and in such a city as Londinium, a bridge would be indispensable, and secondly, that it would naturally be erected somewhere in the direct line of road into Kent, which I cannot but think pointed toward the site of Old London Bridge, both from its central situation, from the general absence of the foundations of buildings in the approaches on the northern side, and from discoveries recently made in the Thames on the line of the old bridge. These are of so varied a nature, of themselves, (without reference to the question more immediately before us,) so interesting and important, that, before I attempt to suggest a reason why these various objects have occupied so extraordinary a locality, it will be necessary to furnish a brief description of them.

The most important are the bronzes in possession of myself and

Mr. Newman, described in the 28th vol. of the *Archaeologia*. There are now added to these, a bronze male figure girt in a toga over a tunic, and holding on the left hand before him what appears to be a shield; the right arm, which is broken at the elbow, is raised. From the position of the legs, this would appear to have been an equestrian figure; the hand which is lost might have held the reins of a bridle. The shield (or whatever the object may be) has been joined by lead to some part of the group, which probably might have been designed to illustrate some popular comedy. The figure appears to wear the comic mask; the eyes are silver, and the hair of the head and beard is dressed in the Parthian fashion, and reminds us of the crisped curls of Juba as represented on his coins.

A peacock in bronze, which also seems to have belonged to a group; two elegant bronze handles of vases, one of which is ornamented with the heads of cranes, of which (as is the case with the image) the eyes are silver; three weights; the beams of scales in brass inlaid with small circular pieces of copper; a figure of a goat in iron cased with silver; fibulæ, spear-heads, rings, and a superb pair of forceps ornamented with the heads of ten deities, which I shall shortly have the pleasure of laying before the Society. Added to these there have been found many thousand coins, chiefly in brass and copper; a considerable number in silver and in copper plated with silver, and a few in gold. They comprise a series extending from Julius to Honorius. The ratio in which they occur will be best seen by the following tabular view.

Consular, a few specimens.	Vespasian, very many.
Pompey, one.	Titus, many.
Julius, one.	Domitian, very many.
Antony, one.	Nerva, several.
Augustus, three.	Trajan, many.
Antonia, several.	Plotina, one plated.
Germanicus, one.	Hadrian, many.
Caligula, one.	Sabina, a few.
Claudius, many.	Faustina the elder, many.
Nero, many.	Aurelius, many.
Galba, two.	Faustina the younger, many.
Vitellius, two.	Pius, many.

Verus, a few.	Marius, two.
Lucilla, a few.	Tetricus, very many.
Commodus, several.	Claudius Gothicus, many.
Crispina, three.	Quintillus, a few.
Severus	Tacitus, four or five.
Domna	Probus, three.
Caracalla	Carinus, one.
Geta	Diocletian
} very many plated, but few in brass.	Maximian
	} many.
	Carausius
	Allectus
Plautilla, one.	Fl. Val. Severus, one.
Macrinus, six.	Constantine, several.
Elagabalus, a few.	Licinius, a few.
Aquilia Severa, one.	Constantine family, abundant.
Moesa, several.	Julian, one specimen.
Mamæa, several.	Gratian, a few.
Sev. Alexander, several.	Valentinian, a few.
Maximinus, three.	Victor, one.
Gordianus, a few.	Honorius, two.
Balbinus, one.	
Philip, a few.	
Etruscilla, two.	
Valerian	
Gallienus	
Salonina	
} a few.	
Postumus, several base denarii, and	
one large brass.	
Victorinus, abundant.	

Medallions.

M. Aurelius, one.
 Faustina the Younger, one.
 Commodus, one.

The whole of these have been dredged up by the ballast-heavers, as they are called, near the foundations of the old Bridge, and principally about a dozen yards below the second arch of the new edifice. They are found across the Thames throughout the line of the bridge, always detached and loose. But nearer Adelaide wharf, in the bed of the river, are masses of conglomerate of gravel and sand, apparently formed by the oxidation of iron, which also contain large quantities of Roman coins. Some have attempted to account for these coins being found in this peculiar situation, under

the possibility of their having been dropt by chance, by people crossing the river. If this were admitted, it would establish the fact of a *trajectus* or ferry at *this* point, instead of Dowgate, as usually supposed. But I do not think the mystery will be satisfactorily solved by the agency of *accident*. Another theory which I have heard advanced is this: that these coins might have no claim to the possession of their watery bed more remote than the period of the destruction of the bridge by fire, at which disastrous moment they might have formed part of the stock in trade of some coin-dealer's shop on the bridge, and have been then and there precipitated into the water. This opinion is to me so utterly void of any rational foundation, that I should not have referred to it, but that several of our antiquaries are disposed to countenance the idea, but who, I feel convinced, will as readily abandon it, on weighing a few of the many reasons that might be offered to controvert such a conjecture.

Had these coins been gathered together by a dealer, would they not have been of a character similar to what we now find in the cabinets of our coin-venders? The assortment would have been a *multifarious* one, not confined to any particular series, but consisting of Greek and English, as well as Roman. But it happens that among the thousands discovered (very many of which I have myself seen brought to light), *not one* specimen of a Greek coin has ever occurred, nor are Saxon or English *ever found in the same stratum* in which the *Roman* coins are embedded. It may happen that one of the latter kind is sometimes perceived with the Roman, but the circumstance is to be thus accounted for. After the ballast-heavers have left a spot fertile in Roman coins (always several feet below the surface of the bed of the river), the gravel and dirt contiguous, by the action of the next tide, will be drifted into the cavity. When the workmen at low-water resume their labour, it is possible and probable that the extraneous gravel, in which may be imbedded the English or Saxon coins, may be brought up with that in which the Roman are (as it were) indigenous. As the geologists (nature's antiquaries) know that peculiar strata contain certain distinctive fossil remains, and without hesitation can refer particular classes to particular strata, knowing that the series of any one deposit cannot be discovered but in its essential bed, so may we as safely decide in matters of

ancient art, and be assured that if we seek the relics of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, we shall find them in their proper place, and not where we should look for those of a thousand years anterior. On reference to the foregoing list, it will be seen that the coins found on the line of the bridge, extend over nearly three centuries and a half, a space of time as fatal to the theory of accident, as the peculiarity of the pure Roman series is to the dealers' shops. Very many of these coins are as sharp as when issued from the mint, and the greater part of those in bad condition appear to have been rubbed more from the friction of the gravel, by tidal action, than from the wear and tear of circulation, for it is not unusual to see a coin with one side quite sharp, and the other almost illegible.

The medallions of Aurelius, Faustina, and Commodus deserve especial notice, in consideration of locality. The workmen assured me that two of them were found immediately under one of the old piles, and as the third was discovered about the same time, it is probable the three were procured from one spot. From the extreme rarity of medallions, and considering the purposes for which they were struck, it seems a wide stretch of the imagination, to conceive how chance could have led to their deposit in such a situation. But on the other hand, if we allow that anything like design is manifest in the deposit of these coins and medallions, we obtain a clue to the solution of the problem, an additional testimony to a custom prevalent among the Romans, and strong collateral evidence of the existence of a bridge across the river near the site of that lately destroyed.

I have often observed that these coins are met with most frequently, as it were in series. Thus, for several consecutive days may be discovered twenty or thirty a day, which will be found on an average to range as follows: three or four may be of Claudius, one of Agrippa, four of Nero, nine of Vespasian, four of Titus, seven of Domitian, and one or two of Trajan and Hadrian. For several tides they will be dredged up pretty true to this scale. At other times, dependent on depth or locality, the coins of Aurelius, Pius, and the Faustinae will be most abundant, or some other part of the series. I do not assert that the finding of the coins is always regulated by scale: but, as I have repeatedly witnessed their occurring in sequences, it appears too remarkable to be passed over.

I am always careful in coming to conclusions on matters where evidence is not strong and forcible ; but, after deliberation on the authenticated facts just detailed, I am persuaded to believe that the bulk of these coins might have been intentionally deposited, at various periods, at the erection of a bridge across the river, whether it were built in the time of Vespasian, Hadrian, or Pius, or at some subsequent period, and that they also might have been deposited at such times as the bridge might require repairs or entire renovation. We sha'l then satisfactorily account, I think, for what, with any other explanation that I have heard adduced, must remain problematical. It is well known what importance the Romans attached to coins as means of transmitting events to posterity ; and we can readily conceive their love of fame and glory excited at such epochs as those alluded to, to bury their numismatic records in a place so favourable for security as the bed of the Thames. Setting aside the repairs of the bridge, coins might be thrown into the river on the accession of every new Emperor. In either case we shall find the existence of a bridge requisite to explain why the coins should be found in a line (parallel with the old bridge) and not thrown in heaps in other places. With reference to the other works of ancient art, found in the Thames, such as the colossal head of Hadrian, and the bronzes heretofore particularised, I have given my opinion of their being thrown there by the early Christians as relics of paganism ; and if so, we shall better explain their being found in or near the same line as the coins, almost in the centre of the river, if we should be disposed, from these or other arguments, to sanction a contemporary bridge or *trajectus*. I beg to submit these views to your and to the Society's attention and rigid examination, while I proceed in conclusion to give a brief sketch of the general character of the coins, hitherto only considered with reference to the bridge.

In the brass series are many of great interest, both from variety of reverse and historical allusion ; as the large brass of Titus, "*Judæa capta*," the second brass of that prince, and of his father Vespasian, with the same reverse. Of the coins relating to Britain we have obtained nearly twenty specimens of the *Britannia* type of Antoninus Pius in second brass, and seven of Hadrian, one of the *Victoriæ Britannicæ* of Geta, in 2 B, and one similar of Commodus in 1 B. A second-brass coin of Nerva, reading on the reverse,

Neptuno Neptune standing to the right, his left hand grasping a trident, in his right, a whip; behind him, a personification of the Tiber.^a The coins of Carausius and Allectus have helped us to many rare and unpublished types, as the Four Seasons on one of the former, with the legend *Temporum Felicitas*, and on another, *Pietas Aug.* (Mercury standing.) A small brass of Helena has in the exergue P.LON, the only one of this empress recorded as assignable to the London Mint. The gold comprise a Crispus, reverse, 'Gaudium Romanorum'; in the exergue, 'Alamannia'; a Maximian 'Comitatus Augg.' and one of the latter, reading on the obverse MAXIMIANUS P F AVG. and on the reverse, SALVS AVGGG. (the usual type of the Goddess Hygeia, holding a snake feeding from a patera,) and ML in the exergue. This coin, which is as fresh and sharp as if minted yesterday, is unique, and of great historical importance. Though bearing the correct effigies and style of Maximian, the reverse, with the three Gs and the M.L. (Moneta Londinensis) plainly indicate its having been struck by the express authority of Carausius to give a *de jure* validity to his assumption of the titles of Augustus and Emperor. Coins of Maximian in brass with the three Gs are known: but this is the first instance of the discovery of a specimen in gold.

I remain, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

^a A specimen of this extremely rare coin, found at Colchester, forms the subject of a dissertation by Ashby, in the *Archaeologia*, vol. III. p. 165. It reads, *Neptuno Circens. Constit . . .* Another, reading *Neptuno Circens. Restitut.* is to be found in Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 406.

XIII. *On the Death of Eleanor of Castile, Consort of King Edward the First, and the Honours paid to her Memory. By the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.*

Read 11th March, 1841.

THE Society has already published, in the third volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, engravings of the three Crosses which alone remain of the twelve that were erected by the King in memory of his Queen. An historical discourse is also there given on the circumstances under which these beautiful structures were erected, the work of Mr. Gough, assisted by Sir Henry Englefield. This discourse contains nearly every thing which was then known on the subject, and has been the source from whence later accounts have been derived. What I now propose to do is to make some material additions to what was then known on the subject, and to correct some important misconceptions; and, in doing this, to make some small addition to the knowledge we possess concerning the arts and artists of the period, and particularly to assert for England, against Walpole and others, the claim of having produced by the hands of native artists most of the beautiful works of sculpture and architecture which are connected with the name and memory of this Queen.

She died at a place called Herdeby (Hardby), near Lincoln, on the 28th of November 1290, which was a few days after the commencement of the 19th year of her husband's reign. Mr. Gough has shewn, in a manner perfectly satisfactory, that Bishop Gibson and Dr. Stukeley were mistaken when they pointed out Hardby near Bolinbroke as the place of the Queen's death. There can be no doubt that the place in question is as Mr. Gough states, a little village called Hardby, on the Lincolnshire side of the Trent, but in

the county of Nottingham (five miles west of Lincoln), which by this event, and this event only, is brought into notice.

Mr. Gough's proofs are sufficient, but if more were needed, more will be supplied in the course of this communication. Hardby is a member of the parish of North Clifton, a prebend in the church of Lincoln, and, at the time of which we are speaking, was a manor belonging to a family who had the surname of Weston.

To account for the Queen being at this place at the time of her illness and death, it is usually said that she was accompanying the King on his way to Scotland, and that falling ill she was left behind. It is added that the King, when he was approaching the borders of Scotland, ("dum finibus Scotiæ appropinquaret," are the words of Walsingham,^a) received intelligence of her death, returned to the place where she lay, and accompanied the funeral procession to London, giving up his intended expedition to Scotland. In this there are very material errors. I do not mean to say that when the King left Westminster in the summer of that year he did not design to proceed to the borders of Scotland, or that when he summoned the Parliament to meet at Clipston, a royal palace in the forest of Sherwood, about twenty miles from Hardby, in the autumn, it was not with a view of being nearer to Scotland than he would have been at London; but that he went with no kind of haste, and that so far from ever approaching the borders of Scotland, he was never in that year further north than Clipston, except that he made a short hunting excursion in the forests of the High Peak and Macclesfield. It will also further appear that, so far from being on the Scottish border when he received information of the Queen's death, he was with her at Hardby at the time of her death, and for several days preceding.

We collect this from the records of the time; and it affords one among innumerable instances of the importance of those documents in giving precision and accuracy to the history of our ancient sovereigns, and in correcting the statements of the old chroniclers, which they too often need. Wal-

^a They are also the words of Trivet, p. 268; in fact the verbal conformity between Trivet and Walsingham plainly shews that one copied the other, or that both copied from a common original.

singham in particular requires to have his statements tested and confirmed. Yet their accuracy is, perhaps, as great as might reasonably be expected, when the means of information must have been of such difficult access.^b

The King spent the greater part of the month of August in Northamptonshire. On the 30th and 31st of that month, and on the 1st of September, he was at Geddington, where one of the crosses to the memory of his Queen was afterwards erected. From the 3rd to the 6th he was at Rockingham. On the 11th he was at Hardby. From the 13th to the 17th he was at the Priory of Newstead. On the 18th and 19th he was at the Abbey of Rufford, and on the 20th we find him at his own house at Clipston. The Parliament was summoned to meet at Clipston on the 27th of October.

The preceding dates are taken from the testing clauses of the King's writs, with some slight assistance from Wardrobe accounts.^c From the same authentic sources we learn that he then remained but two days at Clipston, leaving it on the morning of the 23rd, on which day there are writs tested at Dronfield, a village between Chesterfield and Sheffield. On the 24th and 25th he was at Tidswell, and on the 26th at Chapel-en-le-Frith. On the 27th he was at Macclesfield. He remained there till the 6th of October. On the 7th he set out on his return to Clipston, passing through Ashford, Chesterfield, and Langwith. That in this excursion he was enjoying the diversion of the chace appears from an entry in the Wardrobe accounts of the payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* of the King's gift to Robert at Hall of Wyrardeston, "*quia navigavit in aquâ post cervum in quoddam stagnum in forestâ de Pecco.*"

The Parliament was held at Clipston, and all the writs are tested there till the 11th, 12th, or 13th of November.

By the 14th of November the King had left Clipston and was moving in the direction of Hardby. He was several days at Laxton, from whence he removed to Marnham, and on the 20th he was at Hardby.

^b Walsingham has two passages in which he speaks of this event. One in the *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 477; the other in the *Historia*, pp. 54, 55.

^c A complete Itinerary of this reign was made for the late Record Commission, to which I am indebted for these dates.

There are writs dated at Hardby every day from the 20th to the 28th of November, on which day the Queen died.

The Queen died of a lingering disease, a slow fever. Wikes says, "*modicæ febris igniculo contabescens.*"^d We see therefore why the more quiet situation of Hardby should be chosen for her rather than Clipston, where the Court and Parliament were to be held. I have not seen any positive evidence respecting the time when the Queen first took up her abode at this obscure place. The latest date at which I find the King and Queen together is late in the month of August, when a certain sum was paid to a messenger for carrying joint letters of the King and Queen from Northampton to the Earl of Gloucester. On the 18th of October 13s. 4d. was paid to Henry de Montepessulano for syrops and other medicines bought for the Queen's use at Lincoln. In that interval I conclude she was placed at Hardby, and probably about the 11th of September, when it appears the King was there.

A "*Magister Leopardus fisicus Reginae*" occurs in this year. He had a legacy of 20 marks by the Queen's will. But a physician, whose name does not appear, unless this Leopardus were he, was sent from Spain in this her last illness, a physician of the King of Arragon, to whom the Queen presented a silver goblet. It would seem also as if spiritual consolation was offered to her from her own kindred, as her treasurer paid at this period a certain sum to Sir Garcia de Ispannia for a cross given to the Queen.^e

Its vicinity to Clipston, from which it was about twenty miles distant, would probably recommend Hardby as a place to which the Queen might retire. It appears that a knight whose name was Sir John Weston, and who may have been of the family to whom Hardby belonged, was in a confidential situation about the Queen, the sum of 100s. being transmitted by his

^d Gale, p. 121. Wikes states that she died at Grantham. It is difficult to account for positive assertions like this in writers who are in the main deserving of credit. Langtoft says,

That ilk jere þe quene died in Lyndseie. (p. 248.)

This is worth notice, as assisting to determine the ancient limits of the district called Lindsey.

^e Garcia de Espaigne however occurs elsewhere as having the charge of the Queen's stud after her death, at Hampton, Horsington, Woodstock, and Estwood.

hands from Northampton to Willham le Brun then lying sick at Melchburn, a gift from the Queen.

It appears from two circumstances that the Queen's death took place in the evening. First her anniversary was celebrated on the eve of the feast of Saint Andrew, which according to the ordinary mode of calculation would be the 29th of November; while the King's letter to the Abbot of Clugni, published in the *Fœdera*, which is by far the most authoritative evidence for the day of her death, states that she died on the 4th of the kalends of December, which would be the 28th of November; ^f but if the ecclesiastical day is to be reckoned from evening to evening, then the eve of Saint Andrew would include the evening of the 28th. Secondly, there are writs tested on the 28th, as if public business was transacted on the morning of that day. Then public business for a time ceased. No writs are found tested on the 29th or 30th, or on the 1st day of December.

The corpse was opened and embalmed. The heart was reserved to be deposited, probably at her own desire, in the church of the Friars Predicants in London. What else was removed was interred in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the Minster at Lincoln. Writs are found tested by the King at Lincoln on the 2nd and 3rd of December. On the 5th they are tested at Casterton, which is on the road from Grantham to Stamford; on the 9th at Northampton; on the 13th at Saint Alban's and London. It is manifest, therefore, that the funeral procession, in which the King was per-

^f It may be worth observing how differently the precise day of the Queen's death is stated by different writers:

Matthew of Westminster and the Annals of Dunstable, 5 kal. Dec. November 27.

Thomas Wikes, 4 kal. Dec. November 28.

Walsingham and Trivet, 4 id. Dec. December 10.

Holinshed, Saint Andrew's Even.

Stowe, November 28.

Gough in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, November 20.

This list of discordances may serve to shew how errors will creep in, and how vain it is to expect the highest conceivable accuracy in the multitude of minute statements of historical writers. There is a general accuracy quite consistent with occasional slight deviations, and honest and honourable men know how to judge of them.

sonally present, must have set out very soon after the death. It would seem that the body was taken from Hardby to Lincoln, and that the procession set out from Lincoln on the morning of the 4th.

I shall not trouble the Society with any recital of the discordant accounts which have been given of the course which the procession took, and the number and situation of the crosses which were erected at the places where the body rested.^g They were in number twelve. In this are included the cross at Lincoln, from whence the procession started, and the cross at Charing, within sight of the Abbey in which the body was deposited. The sites were these :

Lincoln.
 Grantham.
 Stamford.
 Geddington.
 Northampton.
 Stony-Stratford.
 Woburn.
 Dunstable.
 Saint Alban's.
 Waltham.
 West-Cheap.
 Charing.

^g Yet as a note I shall give four of the lists :

1. Stowe.—Grantham, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, Saint Alban's, Waltham, West-Cheap, Charing.
2. Camden.—Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunstable, Saint Alban's, Waltham, Charing.
3. Stukeley.—Lincoln, Newark, Leicester, Geddington, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunstable, Saint Alban's, Waltham, Cheapside, Charing.
4. Gough.—Hardby, Lincoln, Newark, Leicester, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunstable, Saint Alban's, Waltham, Cheapside, Charing, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Woburn.

Sir Henry Englefield was not disposed to admit Hardby, Newark, Leicester, Cheap, and Woburn.

We shall recur to these Crosses afterwards. At present they are mentioned only as indicia of the course which the funeral procession took.

This was not the usual route from those parts of the kingdom to London. The ordinary route in those times was from Stamford by Walmesford to Huntingdon, and from thence by Royston, Puckeridge, and Cheshunt. But it was intended that the august procession should pass through a more frequented part of the country, where the Queen was well known. It was also a part of the plan to take some of the greater religious houses by the way, and to have suitable places at which to rest: hence the deviation from the direct line from Stratford to Dunstable, to take in Woburn.

We have two notices of occurrences in this solemnity. One of what passed at Dunstable, the other Walsingham's account of what was done at Saint Alban's.

They enable us to form some idea of what was done at other places where the body rested. In the Annals of Dunstable^h we read that the body rested there one night, and that there was given to the house two rich cloths of Baudekyn and fourscore pounds of wax and more, and that when the procession left Dunstable the herse remained standing "in medio *Fori*" says the printed copy, a manifest error for "in medio *Chori*," meaning in the midst of the choir of the Priory-church there. I need not say that by "herse" is meant a temporary frame of wood on which the coffin was placed, covered with black cloth. The Annals further say that the herse remained standing until the Chancellor and other eminent persons came to Dunstable and marked out the place on which the Memorial Cross was to be erected. When the procession approached Saint Alban's, the whole Convent "solemniter revestitus in capis" went out to meet it as far as the church of Saint Michael at the entrance of the town. The body was taken immediately to their church and placed before the high altar, and all night long the whole convent was engaged in divine offices and holy vigils. The words of Walsingham, few and simple as they are, call up a very impressive spectacle. But if this were a proper occasion to introduce any thing for which we have no special evidence, and only know that it must have existed from what we can collect of the usages of

^h P. 586.

the time, and from the common principles of human nature, it would be easy to shew that this funeral procession was one of the most striking spectacles that England ever witnessed.

The circumstance that writs are found dated on the same day (December 13) both at Saint Alban's and London seems to lead to the inference that the King withdrew from the procession on the morning after its arrival at Saint Alban's, and came through Barnet to London. Walsingham also says that when the procession arrived in London it was *met* by the King and his nobles. We know that from Saint Alban's it went to Waltham. Mr. Gough is perplexed with this deviation from the direct route. But two reasons may be given for it. Waltham had a royal monastery founded by King Harold, thus affording a suitable resting-place for another night, which was not to be found in a direct line from Saint Alban's to London: and secondly, the distance of Saint Alban's from London was too great for a winter's day's journey, when it was expedient that the procession should arrive in London early, for the convenience of the concourse who were to meet it.

When the body of the Queen was approaching London, the King, accompanied, says Walsingham, by the whole Nobility, Prelates, and other dignified Clergy, went forth to meet it. Five and thirty years before the Queen had been welcomed with equal splendour, but with far different feelings, by Henry the Third, when she arrived first in London, a young and beautiful bride.ⁱ The citizens on that occasion manifested their joy in a manner still practised on the continent, by hanging the fronts of their houses with tapestry. Now was a time for sorrow, there never having been a royal consort of England who had won more of the people's love than she.

The arrival of the funeral procession in London appears to have been on the 14th of December, and the entombment took place on the 17th. To this date we have the testimony of Wikes, the Annals of Dunstable, and Matthew of Westminster. We have no distinct evidence in what particular religious house the body remained while in London. The position of one of the Crosses in West-Cheap may seem to guide to Saint Paul's. What

ⁱ There is an account of this in the City of London Chronicle, the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, as it is called.

house there could have been near the site of Charing Cross is a more difficult question. The funeral rites in the Abbey were performed with great magnificence; "*cum summâ omnium reverentiâ et honore,*" says Walsingham. One thing a little dimmed the splendour and detracted from the completeness of the solemnity. There was a dispute at that time between the Abbot of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Peckham) which made the Archbishop unwilling to enter the Abbey; so that the Bishop of Lincoln (Sutton) presided. We have this information from Thomas Wikes.

The King remained at Westminster for a week after the entombment. He then removed to Ashridge, a house of *Bons Hommes*, lately founded by his near relative Edmund Earl of Cornwall, in honour of the precious blood of Jesus, a small quantity of which was there preserved as a most precious relic, which had been given to his father the King of the Romans when abroad. We first find the King at Ashridge on the eve of Christmas, and he continued there till the 26th of January, and possibly for a few days longer. He then visited the inmates of two other religious houses, Evesham or Eynsham and Ambresbury. At the latter of these houses he would find his mother Eleanor of Provence, a very aged princess, who died in the month of June following; and also one of his daughters, Mary, who was professed in that house at a very early period of her life. He left Ambresbury on the 20th, and was at Andover, Uffington, and Burford, to the end of the month. Early in March he was at Tedington and Ichinton. He then advanced northward to attend to the affairs on the Scottish border, reaching York on the 3rd of April, Newcastle on the 20th, and on May the 5th we find him at Norham. From that time he devoted himself with all the vigour of his mind to affairs of state; but there is reason to believe what the old chroniclers relate of him, that he never ceased to lament the loss of his amiable and affectionate consort. It was not till nine years after that he took his second wife, Margaret of France.

The solemnities of a most magnificent funeral were far from being the only honours which he paid to the memory of Queen Eleanor.

On the 4th of January, being then at Ashridge, the King addressed a very earnest, pious, and pathetic letter to the Abbot of Clugni, announcing the

event, and entreating the prayers of himself and his order :—"Deus omnium Conditor et Creator, qui cœlestis profunditate consilii ordinat, vocat, disponit et revocat subjectas suæ providentiæ creaturas, serenissimam consortem nostram Alianoram quondam Reginam Angliæ, ex regali ortam progenie, quarto kalend. Decembris, de præsentis sæculo, quod vobis non sine multâ mentis amaritudine nunciamus, sicut sibi placuit, evocavit," &c. It is probable that similar letters were addressed to the heads of other religious houses, and to the Bishops.

The Prelates in several of the dioceses granted indulgences for prayers for the soul of the Queen, copies of which were afterwards transcribed in two schedules to be laid up among the records of the time.

The Queen had made a will, of which however no copy is now known to exist. But the fact is certain, there being frequent reference to it in a body of contemporary accounts of the parties to whom was committed the administration of her affairs.^k In this will she gave legacies to several communities of religious, chiefly houses of Friars, and to many private persons, some of whom were attendants upon her. But, beside these, large sums were given to religious communities or to private persons, or remitted to them in the settlement of accounts between them and the Queen "pro

^k These accounts are very curious and valuable. It appears that towards the expiration of a year after the Queen's decease, there were many claims against her still unliquidated. A Court seems to have been established by special commission to hear and determine claims, of which Ralph de Ivingho was the President. Persons under the name of *Receptores* were also appointed, through whose hands the money passed which was adjudged by the Court. But beside attending to the *Querelæ*, to the same persons was committed the carrying into execution the Queen's will (of which Robert Burnet the Chancellor was the chief executor), the oversight of the works of whatever kind which the King undertook in honour of her, and in short the execution of whatever was to be done in relation to her affairs, which thus became detached from the general business of the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, or of the Officer of the King's Wardrobe. The accounts I speak of are those of the receivers, whose names were John Bacon and Richard de Kent (*Kancia*) or R. de Middleton, who may be the same person under another designation. It is possible, or rather probable, that the accounts for one or more terms are wanting both at the beginning and at the end of the series, which now consists of the accounts for ten successive terms, the first being Michaelmas Term 19 Edw. I. finiente, A. D. 1291, and the last Hilary Term 22 Edw. I. A. D. 1294. Much use will be made of these accounts as we proceed. The whole sum accounted for is 6,237*l.* 2*s.* 10½*d.*

animâ suâ," which gifts may appear to have been of the nature of meritorious alms on her behalf, and intended as inducements to the parties receiving them to remember the Queen in their private devotions.

Ample provision was also made for the perpetual celebration of memorial services.

And first at Hardby, the place at which she died. Here a chantry was founded, one hundred marks being placed in the hands of P. de Willoughby, Dean of Lincoln, for the purpose, in 1292. Mr. Gough says that the Prebendary of North Clifton (the parish of which Hardby is a member) was to receive 10 marks yearly, out of which he was to pay 100 shillings a year to the chantry priest, and to find him a lodging, and also to provide furniture for the altar, but that Edward the Second removed this service from Hardby to the church of Lincoln. If this were done by Edward the Second, there was a restoration of Queen Eleanor's chantry at Hardby, special notice being taken of it in the Valor of King Henry the Eighth. The cantarist had then an annual stipend of 103*s.* 4*d.* which he received from the Prebendary of North Clifton. This chantry would of course be suppressed by the Act of 1 Edward VI. which made no exception in favour of the commemorative services of the most illustrious and virtuous of his own ancestors.

Another was at Elynton. The only notice I have been able to find of this chantry is in the accounts for 1292, which contain an entry of the payment of 10 marks to Mr. Ralph de Ivingho for a messuage bought at Maydenhithe for the chantry in the chapel of Elynton for the soul of the Queen.

Another may have been at the house of the Friars Predicants in London, where the Queen's heart was deposited; there being an entry in the accounts of 77*s.* 6*d.* for 120 lbs. of wax to make torches to burn about the Queen's heart on the day of her anniversary; or this may have been only a temporary celebration.

But the great celebration was to be in the church of Westminster, where she lay entombed. The King was quite profuse in his gifts to the monks to secure in this church a splendid and perpetual commemoration. I take from Dugdale's History of Warwickshire¹ the following account of this foundation. He

¹ Edit. Thomas, p. 958.

gave the manors of Knoll, Arden's Grafton, and Langdon, in the county of Warwick, and certain lands in Alspath,^m Buleye, Hulverley, Witlakesfield, Kinwaldsheye, Nuthurst, and Didington, in the same county, the manors of Biddbrooke in Essex, Westerham and Edulnebrugge in Kent, and Turveston in Buckinghamshire—on condition that the Abbot, Prior and Convent, or the Prior and Convent should the Abbot be out of the way, should celebrate the Queen's anniversary every year on the eve of Saint Andrew the Apostle, in the choir of their church, being solemnly invested, singing Placebo and Dirige with nine lessons, one hundred wax candles, weighing 12 lbs. [each] being then burning about the tomb. The candles were to be lighted on the eve of the anniversary and to burn all day till high mass was ended, all the bells both great and small were to be rung, and the convent was to sing solemnly for her soul's health. But on the day of the anniversary the Abbot himself, or the Prior if the Abbot were absent, if a more eminent Prelate could not be obtained, was to sing mass at the high altar, the candles then burning and the bells ringing, and each monk a private mass, the inferior monks the whole psalter, and the brethren converts the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Aves as many as the Abbot and Convent should appoint, for her soul and the souls of all the faithful deceased. Penny dole was to be given to seven score poor people present at the solemnity. Thirty of the wax tapers were to remain all the year long about the tomb, all of which were to be lighted on the great festival days and upon the coming of any distinguished person: and two tapers were to be kept constantly burning. All this being provided for, the residue of the rents was to remain to the use of the monastery. This was done by a charter of the King bearing date at Berwick October 20, in the 20th year of his reign, A. D. 1292.

For the better security of this magnificent foundation, the King directed that every successive abbot, before the restitution of his temporalities, should take an oath for the observance of the premises, and that every year, upon Saint Andrew's Eve, the charter should be publicly read in the Chapter House, in the presence of the whole Convent.

^m Or Culspath, as in Stowe.

We learn from Fabian, that the obligation to keep two tapers constantly burning at the tomb was observed in his time, and from the *Valor*, that there was a distribution of 23*s.* 4*d.* weekly, in alms, at the abbey for the soul of Queen Eleanor, and the souls of King Richard the Second and Anne his Queen. It appears by the *Valor*, that the lands then given by King Edward the First, yielded at that time a clear income of more than £200. This splendid commemoration service would cease at the Reformation, after having endured about 250 years. So little can founders, even Royal Founders, foresee the changes of human opinion.

It will be observed, that this gift to the Monastery of Westminster was not completed till nearly the close of the second year after the Queen's decease. Hence it is that the expenses of the first anniversary, or at least a portion of them, are accounted for by the receivers before spoken of. We may form some idea of the splendour of the ceremony, from the fact that 3706 pounds of wax, and probably more, were bought for the occasion. The Earl of Warren, who was in Yorkshire, had a special summons to attend. Against the second anniversary there were provided and charged in the same accounts 300 pitchers, 1500 dishes, 1500 plates, 1500 salsaria, and 400 cups; and small sums were given in alms to the prisoners in Newgate, and to the persons in the Hospitals of St. Giles, Saint James, Saint Thomas of Southwark, Saint Mary of Bishopsgate, and Saint Bartholomew, also to the seven houses of Friars in London, namely, the Friars Predicants, the Friars Minors, the Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Friars of the Holy Cross, the Friars of Pica, and the Friars of the Sack, which I the rather thus particularly mention, as we thus obtain evidence that all these several orders had obtained at that early period an establishment in London.

The first anniversary was celebrated in many other places, viz. at Haverfordwest, Haverbergh, Somerton, Burgh, Lindhurst, Ledes, and Langley. This was done at the King's expense, who paid to each place sums varying from £19 to £30, which shows that they were no stinted rites.

It seems that there was a perpetual commemoration in the church of the Monastery of Peterborough, an allowance being claimed by the monks of that house at the time of the examination into its revenues preparatory to the

formation of the Valor, for alms distributed on the day of Queen Eleanor's anniversary.

To do still more honour to the memory of his beloved consort, he called in the aid of the most eminent painters, sculptors, and architects to be found in England. I am now about to speak of the crosses and tombs which he caused to be erected, several of which have escaped the fanatical rage which destroyed the rest, and are justly regarded, not only as being among the choicest and most beautiful works of art of that early age, but as among the choicest and most beautiful works which have descended to our time.

I shall speak first of the crosses, and, before proceeding to speak of them individually, I beg leave to make a few remarks upon them collectively.

And first, on the purpose with which they were erected. We in these times view the three, which have alone been permitted to remain,—by the bad spirit which has from time to time prevailed in England, warring against every thing that is eminently beautiful, or that is addressed to the higher feelings and interests of man,—but as so many beautiful specimens of the combined effect of sculpture and architecture, or so many conspicuous proofs of the perfection which these arts had attained at an age which some men still call dark, or, at most, as affecting memorials of conjugal love. They were to attract by their beauty, no doubt; but their higher purpose was to inspire the devotional sentiment: they were to call the traveller to remember the "*Reginam bonæ memoriæ*," as she is often called, even in fiscal documents, whose image stood before him, that he might there pray for her. Though without inscription, they carried on their front the words "*Orate pro animâ*," and accordingly, they were consecrated with due religious solemnities. We collect this from the Annals of Dunstable, where it is said, that when the Chancellor and other persons had marked out the spot on which the cross was to be erected, the Prior of Dunstable sprinkled the ground with holy water. By being placed by the highway side, the greater number of persons would see them, and be engaged to be mindful of the dead.

Secondly, on the choice of the places at which they were erected. Walsingham says, and there is no reason to doubt it, that they were erected at the places at which the body rested when it was being conveyed from Hardby

to London: "in omni loco et villâ quibus corpus pausaverat," &c. In this there is something which, on the first view, strikes us as peculiar. Memorials of the dead by the way-side are indeed of common occurrence, but to place them where the corpse has rested when it was being conveyed to the sepulchre, is at least a rare occurrence, and when we see it done, we look for a suggestion or a precedent. I can find but one similar instance, and as it was in the case of a distinguished person, who was well-known to both King Edward and Queen Eleanor, and who was indeed not a very distant relative of both, and held in great esteem by them, it is no unreasonable presumption that the peculiar honour paid to him was imitated in this instance by King Edward. The person I mean was Lewis the Ninth, King of France, the Saint Lewis of the French monarchy. He, King Edward, and Queen Eleanor all descended from our King Henry the Second.^o Edward and Eleanor had both accompanied him on the crusade of 1270. The King of France died at Tunis, while Edward and Eleanor went on, as is well known, to Palestine. The French King's body was brought to Paris, and from Paris was conveyed for interment to Saint Denis. It appears to have been carried on men's shoulders, and wherever on the way from Paris to Saint Denis the bearers rested, crosses were erected.^p Here then at least is a contemporary parallel instance. The fact must have been known to Edward, who stayed some time at Paris in 1273, on his return from Palestine. He and the Queen also both visited Paris at a later period.^q

We proceed to speak of the individual crosses, taking them seriatim in the order of the procession.

^o That King's daughter, Eleanor, was the mother of Blanch and Berengaria, the former being the mother of Saint Lewis, and the latter grandmother of Eleanor. I have not thought it necessary to go into the particulars of Queen Eleanor's life. She was the sister of Alphonso, King of Castile, a great patron of science in that age.

^p See Charpentier in voce Crux, who refers to Felibien, p. 249.

^q King Edward the First constructed a chapel in the church of the Friars Minors at London, expressly in honour of Saint Lewis, his companion in arms, where was a painted statue of that King.

LINCOLN.

Mr. Gough speaks doubtfully of there having been a cross at Lincoln; but that one of the crosses was erected at that city is put beyond doubt by the accounts of which I have spoken, where we have the payment of £60, and of forty marks, in different sums, each in part payment for the cross, which was being erected at this place. This was in the years 1291, 1292, and 1293. The payments were made to Richard de Stow, who has the addition "cemenarius," and who was indisputably the builder of this cross. William de Hibernia (Ireland) received twenty-two marks for making the "virg. capit. et anul." and the carriage of them to Lincoln. Robert de Corf also received a small sum on the same account.

The "virg. capit. et anul." which may possibly admit of being translated rod, capital, and ring, occur in the accounts for all the crosses.

GRANTHAM.

The existence of a cross at this place depends for the present upon tradition and the testimony of Camden. There is no notice of it in the accounts of which I speak.

STAMFORD.

This cross also is not mentioned in the accounts. Here is tradition, the testimony of Camden, and also that of a native topographer, who, in his Annals of Stamford, speaks of the cross with the arms of England, Castile and Leon, and Ponthieu, the well known insignia of the Queen, found on all the crosses which remain.

GEDDINGTON.

Here the cross still exists. It is not mentioned in the accounts.

It will be seen that all the other crosses do occur in the accounts, which reach only to the year 1294. These three northern crosses were probably the last erected, and not begun till after 1294.

NORTHAMPTON.

This and the crosses at Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, and Saint Alban's, were the work of the same architect: his name was John de Bello,

or de la Bataille (Battle). In one entry only, a partner (*socius*) is mentioned, whose name was John de Pabeham. Like Stowe, Battle has the addition of "*cementarius*." The five crosses were all erected between 1291 and 1294. It is impossible to ascertain the precise sum which was paid for any one of them, money being advanced to him upon account from time to time for the whole. But if we may proceed upon the principle of an equal distribution of the money when it was paid for two or more, he would receive £134 for the Northampton cross; but this does not include the payment for the statues, which were the work of William de Ireland, who received five marks for each of them. He also provided the "*virg. capit. et anul.*" The sum of £6. 3s. 8d. was paid for scaffolding, when these and the statues were put in their places. There is a charge for the carriage of them.

There is also a charge of £40, and sixty marks for laying down a pavement or causey, (*pavimentum*) and (*calcetum*), from the town to the cross. It was paid to "*Robertus filius Henrici*" (Harrison), a burgess of Northampton, and is said to be "*pro animâ Reginae*." The construction of causeys was accounted an act of piety.

STONY-STRATFORD.

On the same principle of calculation, Battle received £63. 13s. 4d. for this cross. The "*virg. capit. et anul.*" were furnished by Ralph de Chichester, who received small sums for them. We have no special notice of statues being provided for this cross, but there is a general entry in the accounts of the payment of five marks each for fifteen statues for the crosses to William de Ireland, and to another person who is called Alexander le Imaginator.

WOBURN.

The sum which can be traced into the hands of Battle on the same principle of distribution for the cross at Woburn is but £60. 6s. 8d. It appears to have been begun later in the year 1292 than the rest. The "*virg. capit. et anul.*" were supplied by Ralph de Chichester. There is no special mention of the statues, which is to be accounted for in the same manner as before.

DUNSTABLE.

What is found concerning the cross at this place is an exact counterpart of what is said concerning the cross at Stony-Stratford.

SAINT ALBAN'S.

The same may be said of the cross at this place, except that the work began in 1291, and that the sum of £113 may, on the same principle, be traced into the hands of Battle, in payment for it.

WALTHAM.

We have now done with Battle's crosses, and we have before us one concerning which we can be more certain that we have the whole sum which was paid for it. This cross was begun in 1291, and the latest payments on account of it, are found in Michaelmas Term, 1292. The whole sum, it appears, was £95. The stone with which it was built was brought from Caen, and the principal person employed upon it was Dymenge de Legeri, or as he is called in one of the entries, Nicholas Dymenge de Reyns. He was no doubt a foreigner. Three other persons had, however, some share in the work, namely, Roger de Crundale, Alexander le Imaginator, and Robert de Corf. The last person supplied the "virg. capit. et anul."

WEST CHEAP.

This cross appears to have been a work of more magnificence than those before-mentioned, as the contract for building it was for £300. "Magister Michael de Cantuariâ cementarius," (Michael de Canterbury) was the contractor; and he received in several sums, in 1291, 1292, and 1293, £226 13s. 4d. No other name is mentioned in connexion with it.

CHARING.

This was by far the most sumptuous of these works. It was in progress when the accounts commence in 1291; and there is reason to think, that it was not completed in 1294, when they close. It was begun by Master Richard de Crundale, "cementarius," but he died while the work was in progress, about Michaelmas Term, 1293, and it proceeded under the direction of Roger

de Crundale. Richard received about £560 for work, exclusive of materials supplied by him, and Roger, £90 17s. 5d. The stone was brought from Caen, and the marble from Corf. The steps and other parts of the fabric were made of the marble, for which considerable sums were paid. Ralph de Chichester supplied the "virg. capit. et anul." and Alexander Le Imaginator received five marks in part payment for statues which were intended for it.

On a review of the above details, it appears therefore that the architects to whom the country was indebted for these works were,

Richard de Stowe,
John de Battle,
Dymenge de Legeri,
Michael de Canterbury,
Richard de Crundale,

and Roger de Crundale,

of whom Michael de Canterbury was the builder of St. Stephen's Chapel, and Richard de Crundale was much employed in the works then going on at the palace of Westminster; and, as there is no notice of designs being presented by any other hand, it is but justice to them to believe that the designs, as well as the execution, were their own. The sculpture was the work of

William de Ireland,
and Alexander le Imaginator,

who is called in one place Alexander de Abyngton, a pretty plain proof that he also was an Englishman.

We proceed next to the tombs.

LINCOLN.

We are indebted to Bishop Saunderson for the best account we possess of the tomb which was placed in the Minster at Lincoln. He says it stood in the Lady's Chapel, and was an altar monument of marble, whereon was a Queen's effigies in gilded brass, and that it had the following inscription, in what he calls Saxon characters. *Hic sunt sepulta viscera Alienoræ quondam Reginae Angliæ uxoris Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici, cujus animæ propicietur Deus.—Amen.* This tomb, but not the statue, was the work of

Dymenge de Legeri, and Alexander de Abyngton. They received in several payments, £25 for the work. Roger de Crundale had £1 16s. 8d. for marble. William de Suff. (Suffolk) received eight marks for three little images of the Queen, cast in metal, to be placed near this tomb.

The great work, the gilt statue, was the work of Master William Torell, of whose taste and skill the statue on the tomb at Westminster is still the striking evidence. The statue at Lincoln was probably a duplicate work. The only special notice of the remuneration which he received for it, is the payment to him of 40s. on account.

LONDON.

The heart of the Queen was deposited in the Church of the Friars Predicants, an order for which she had a strong affection. It was partly by her means that the Church was built,^r so that it had nothing of the grace which antiquity gives to sacred edifices, when her heart was deposited within its walls. She gave to the house a legacy of 200 marks, and was a benefactor also by her will to the Friars of the same order at several other places, as Derby, Leicester, Dunstable, Oxford, and Warwick; and there was a large distribution of money among the houses of this order throughout England after her death, either as sums bequeathed by her, or as gifts by the King in her name.

A peculiar disposition of the heart was not at all an unusual circumstance in those times. Richard, King of the Romans, the uncle of the King, had given his heart to the Friars Minors at Oxford, while the body was buried in the Abbey of his foundation at Hales; and Eleanor, the mother of King Edward, directed that her body should be buried in her convent at Ambresbury, but that her heart should be deposited in the church of the Friars Minors at London; and King Edward himself directed that his heart should be carried to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Several skilful persons were called in to decorate the place where the Queen's heart lay. William de Hoo, "cementarius," received 2½ marks for something which is described by the word "crista." William de Suffolk

^r Mon. Ang. New Edit. VI. 1487.

prepared several small images of metal to be placed near the spot. Alexander Le Imaginator had 12s. 3d. for work in iron, and 5s. for a painted cloth. Roger de Newmarch received £4 17s. 9d. for paving stones, lime, and other necessities; and finally, Walter de Durham, the painter, was called in to decorate the place with his beautiful work: he was paid £13 and one mark. This was that Walter the painter, who was much employed at this period on the works at Westminster.

There is not, I believe, any description remaining of these works, which would be destroyed when Sir Thomas Cawarden took down the church, which he bought in the reign of Edward the Sixth. Surely means ought to have been taken to preserve a national monument like this. This was the church of the Black Friars. A theatre arose upon its site.

WESTMINSTER.

The place selected to receive the body was the newly erected chapel at the east end of the church of the Abbey of Westminster. This chapel had been erected by King Henry the Third, especially in honour of Edward the Confessor, whom he seems to have held in peculiar honour, naming his eldest son after him. The chapel is one of singular beauty, and designed with great architectural ingenuity; but to enjoy it perfectly, the mind should contemplate it, freed from all the excrescences with which it is disfigured, and not excepting even the monument of King Henry the Fifth, which, beautiful as it is in itself, is evidently not there in its place, and supersedes some work of the original architect, not less beautiful we may presume than itself. When this is done, we get an inner chapel longitudinal, and with a half hexagonal end, with a pavement of rich mosaic, the whole chapel finished in every part with minute decorations in the most exquisite taste. Around this chapel is an aisle, into which open several smaller chapels, each lighted by its own windows, from which also some portion of light is admitted into the inner chapel, which, however, is chiefly lighted from windows placed at a great height just below the vaulted roof, and not at first perceived. In the centre of this inner chapel is the shrine of King Edward the Confessor, of the richest mosaic; the work it can hardly be doubted, after the evidence produced by Walpole, of Peter Cavalini.

On each side of the inner chapel are three intercolumniations, in each of which is now an altar tomb. If the chapel were entered, as was the original intention, from the west end, there would be on the left hand the tombs of Edward the First, Henry the Third, and then the tomb of Queen Eleanor. On the right hand the tomb of Queen Philippa is in the space corresponding to that which the tomb of Queen Eleanor occupies; the tomb of Edward the Third is opposite to that of Henry the Third; and the tomb of Richard the Second and his Queen opposite to that of Edward the First. At the east end is the tomb of Henry the Fifth, with its appendages. A more august spectacle can hardly be conceived—so many renowned sovereigns sleeping round the shrine of an older sovereign, the holiest of their line.

It was doubtless the intention of King Henry the Third when he constructed this chapel, that it should be, as it became, the place of interment for himself and his family, and it was so contrived that the tombs and effigies which should be placed in it should be visible to those who paced the aisle which surrounds the inner chapel. The chapel itself, enriched with a profusion of gold and precious stones, was probably entered only by a few.

All this at the time of the death of Queen Eleanor was but a new work. The body of Henry the Third had been received here; but even his tomb, as I shall presently shew, had not then been completed. No tomb had been placed in any other of the intercolumniations.

The space allotted to her was at the feet of King Henry the Third, in one of the sides of the half hexagonal end.

The tomb still remains, and has no doubt often been the subject of admiration to many members of this Society, and especially the statue of the Queen, which is a work of exquisite beauty, chaste in its design almost as an ancient Grecian work. The figure is attired in a close vest, over which is a robe open in front. One hand rests upon the breast, the other is so placed as to hold a sceptre, and a groove may be perceived between the thumb and the forefinger in which a sceptre might be fixed. We have no drawing or other information from which we can learn whether a sceptre was ever actually placed in her hand, and possibly the artist might perceive that the effect of his work would be rather impaired than improved by such an addition. There

is, however, one ensign of royalty, a circlet on the head ornamented with trefoils alternately large and small. The hair flows gracefully on the shoulders, and to a most beautiful face of the Grecian cast there is given an expression of softness, benignity, modesty, and piety, corresponding with the character given of her by Walsingham, "*fuerat nempe mulier pia, modesta, misericors, Anglicorum amatrix omnium.*" Modern writers tell us, I know not on what authority, that this statue was taken by later artists as the model from which they formed statues of the Virgin. This figure is of metal, and has been richly coated with gold. The head rests on two cushions, which have been gilded in an armorial pattern of the arms of Castile and Leon, and probably also of England and Ponthieu. Over the head is a canopy of tabernacle work very rich and beautiful. The whole rests upon a sheet of metal which has been gilt in a pattern like that of the cushions. On the edge of this sheet is the inscription, which merely relates who she was; the letters are cut or cast with singular sharpness and beauty. All this work in metal is placed upon an altar-tomb of stone or marble, having on the side towards the interior of the chapel six shields with the arms of Castile and Leon, England and Ponthieu.

The marble work is in a state of decay, but the whole of the metallic parts of the tomb is as sharp and perfect as when five centuries and a half ago it was first placed there. Some painting and ancient iron-work on the outside, that are seen from the aisle, have nearly perished. Some injury is done by the buildings which inclose the tomb of King Henry the Fifth. They obstruct a full view of the effigies.

It now remains to give some account of the persons employed upon this beautiful work, with a few slight particulars of the expense of preparing it.

The marble work was executed by Richard de Crundale, to whom was committed the building of the Cross at Charing. He was employed upon it in 1291, in which year he received £10 on account for work on this tomb and on the Cross at Charing. This is the only payment I have seen any account of.

The statue was the work of Master William Torell, goldsmith, whose name will probably hereafter be ranked high in the catalogue of English artists. In 1291 he received 50 marks for work on the Queen's image. In

the next year he was employed on two statues, one of the Queen and the other of a King, for which he received in several payments £35 and 37 marks.

The "metal for the Queen's image," (I translate the words of the record) was bought of William Sprot and John de Ware, to whom £50 and afterwards 50 marks were paid for it. Flemish coin was bought to supply the gold for the gilding. The quantity was 476 florins, which were bought at different times at 2s. 6d. each. Sixty-eight florins more were bought apparently for the same purpose.

The work appears to have been finished by Michaelmas Term 1292, when there was paid to Master Thomas the carpenter 44s. 4d. for timber and for making the scaffold for raising the image of the Queen, and also for the herse. Thomas de Hokynton, or Hoghton, "ingeniator," received 70s. for making a cover over the Queen's image and barriers about it. Other sums were paid for the same kind of work. Thomas de Leghton received £13 for iron work. Master William the paviour £7, "for making the pavement in the church of Westminster about the tomb." Nothing appears to have been omitted. The cover which protected the image, and which was probably removed only on the day of her anniversary, or when any very eminent person visited the Confessor's shrine, was decorated by the hand of the most skilful painter of the time, Walter de Durham, who received a small sum for his labours upon it.*

I have thus laid before the Society all the information I have been able to collect on a subject of some public interest, part of which is derived from sources which till lately were wholly inaccessible. But before concluding this communication, I wish to make one observation respecting the second statue in metal, that of a King, on which Torell was engaged when he was preparing the statue of Queen Eleanor.

As no name of the King is mentioned it might appear that the King then in being was intended, and that King Edward, while he was preparing this tomb for the Queen, was preparing a similar one for himself. But though it

* The four mortices which may be discerned in the sheet of metal on which the effigies lie were probably intended for the purpose of fixing this cover. The same contrivance may be observed in the tomb of Henry the Third.

can hardly be doubted that the present tomb of King Edward the First is but a fragment, and the least valuable part of the whole design, the statue of a King on which Torrell was engaged at that time was certainly the statue of King Henry the Third on the tomb next to that of Queen Eleanor. It is in precisely the same style of art, there is the same kind of circlet on the brow, and the same groove for a sceptre in the right hand.[†] But the fact is placed beyond doubt by two entries in certain accounts of Hugh de Kendal of money received by him for houses, rents, and tenements which had belonged to Jews, sold by him in pursuance of a writ of the King dated at Ashridge on December 27, 1290. In these accounts he claims allowance for 40 marks paid by him to Master W. Torell, "maker of the image of King Henry," in part payment, and afterwards of a small sum for making a scaffold for the tomb of King Henry. I add, as a further slight contribution to the history of the arts, that Kendal paid £64 and a mark to John de Bristol, the King's glazier, for making glass windows in the church of Westminster.

[†] This statue, like that of Eleanor, has been gilt. The face is evidently intended for a portrait, and is that of a man who seems to have known care. There are deep lines both perpendicular and horizontal on the brow.

XIV. *Some Historical Doubts relating to the Biographer Asser.*
By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A., F.S.A. in a Letter to
Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read 18th November, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

November 18, 1841.

IN using Asser's *Life of King Alfred* as the ground-work of a biographical sketch of that Monarch, some doubts have arisen in my mind as to the authenticity and character of that well-known work, which I take the liberty of laying before the Society of Antiquaries. It is an important question, because it affects one of the most interesting periods of our national history; and I hope that these observations may lead to a more thorough investigation of the question by those who are better capable of deciding than myself. It will be had in mind that the book in question purports to be a *life of King Alfred*, written in the 45th year of his age (*i. e.* A.D. 893 or 894), by his intimate friend Bishop Asser.

I think no person can read Asser's *Life of Alfred* without observing that it consists of two distinct parts; of a chronology of events arranged year by year, on which are engrafted a few anecdotes of Alfred's private life, and an eulogy of his character. The first of these portions, which is the strictly historical part, will be found on comparison to be nothing more than a translation of the *Saxon Chronicle*. I might point out as remarkable examples of this fact, the entries in the years 867, 869, 870, 871, &c.; but I will only instance here the brief entry in the year 874, which stands as follows in the *Chronicle*:—

AN. DCCCLXXIV. Her for se here from Lindesse to Hreope-dune, 7 þær winter-setl nam, 7 þone cyning Burhred ofer sæ adraefden, ymb twa 7 xx. winter þæs þe he rice hæfde, and þæt lond eall ge-eodon. And he for to Rome, and þær ge-sæt to his lifes ende,

and his lic lið on sça Marian cyrican on Angel-cynnes scole. And 8y ylcan geare hie sealdon Ceolwulfe, anum unwisum cyninges þegne, Myrcna rice to healdanne, and he him aðas swor, and gislas seald, ƿ hit him gearo wære swa hwilce dæge swa hie hit habban woldon, 7 he gearo wære mid him sylfum, 7 mid eallum þam þe him læstan woldon, to þæs heres þearfe.

"Here went the army from Lindesse to Hreopedune, and there took its winter-quarters, and *they drove over sea the King Burhred*, about two and twenty years after he had the kingdom, and overcame all that land. And he went to Rome, and there remained till his life's end, and his body lieth in St. Mary's church in the school of the Angles. And the same year they gave to Ceolwulf, *an unwise thane of the King*, the kingdom of Mercia to hold, and he swore oaths to them, and gave hostages, that it should be ready for them *on whatever day they would have it*, and that he would be ready with himself, and with all that would remain with him, to be at the service of the army."

In Asser's Latin the entry for the same year is as follows :—

"Anno dominicæ incarnationis 874, nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis 25, supra memoratus sæpe exercitus Lindissig deserens, Merciam adiit, et hyemavit in loco qui dicitur Hreopedune. Burghredum quoque Merciorum regem regnum suum *deserere et ultra mare exire* et Romam adire contra voluntatem suam coegit, 22 regni sui anno. Qui postquam Romam adierat, non diu vivens ibidem [de]functus est, et in Schola Saxonum in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ honorifice sepultus adventum Domini et primam cum justis resurrectionem expectat. Pagani quoque post ejus expulsionem totum Merciorum regnum suo dominio subdiderunt. Quod tamen miserabili conditione *cuidam insipienti ministro regis* (ejus nomen erat Ceolwulf) eodem pacto custodiendum commendaverunt, *ut qualicunque die illud vellent habere iterum*, pacifice illis assignaret, quibus in eadem cognitione obsides dedit, et juravit, nullo modo se voluntati eorum contradicere velle, sed obediens in omnibus esse." p. 8.

It is, I think, impossible to deny that one of these accounts is taken verbatim from the other. It is improbable that Asser should be the original, because in his narrative the yearly entries contain many things which are irrelevant to the subject, and they have there a remarkable appearance of "patch-work," while in the Saxon Chronicle they are perfectly in their place, in entire harmony with what goes before and with what follows.

Now if these entries are taken from the Saxon Chronicle, it is impossible that they can have been written so early as 894, because by the most favour-

able supposition that has been hazarded on the antiquity of this part of the Chronicle, it was not composed before the beginning of the tenth century, and it is more than probable that it is a work of a later period. ^a

With regard to the other portion of the work, the biographical matter interwoven with the chronological entries, I confess that it does not appear to me to embrace the kind of information to be expected from Alfred's friend and contemporary. Let any one read Eginhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, and compare it with the dry chronicles of the time, he will find facts told by the biographer with the vigour and spirit of a man who was active and interested in them, accompanied with vivid sketches and clear views of the policy and character of that great monarch. When we turn to Asser, we seem to have a writer who would fain imitate the biographer of the Frankish Emperor, but who only knows the history of his hero from one bare chronicle, and depends upon popular traditions for his views of his personal character.

There is clearly much that is legendary and not historically true in Asser's account of Alfred. I am inclined to doubt the truth of the alleged neglect which, according to Asser, had been shown to Alfred's education in his infancy. We know that his father King Ethelwolf was an accomplished scholar, that he had been an ecclesiastic before he came to the throne, that his friends and advisers were ecclesiastics, such as Swithun and Alstan, the former of whom at least was a scholar, that he was a great patron of the clergy and of the Church, that Alfred (his favourite child) was twice carried to Rome before he was six years of age:—is it probable that under such circumstances the royal youth would be left to pick up his first scraps of learning after he was advanced beyond the common age of receiving such instruction, by the caprice of accident? or is it not much more likely that he derived the thirst for knowledge, which distinguished his after life, from the teaching and example of the learned men whom he had seen at his father's court?

^a I do not think that there is any substantial reason for attributing a part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to Plegmund. But, even supposing the entries during the greater part of the reign of Alfred to have been contemporary, it is quite improbable that such a man as Asser should use them in the way they are used in the "*Life of Alfred*."

At page 5, the writer of this book quotes the oral authority of Alfred, in a very ostentatious manner, for the story of Offa's wife Eadburgha, which must have been familiar to the ears of every inhabitant of Alfred's dominions. Yet a little further on, when he arrives at what was one of the most important events of Alfred's life, his pretended destitution in the isle of Athelney, which one would suppose Asser must have had many occasions of hearing from the King's own mouth, all that he has to add to the words of the Saxon Chronicle he professes to take from a legendary life of St. Neot! I am aware that the passage relating to the adventure of Alfred with the neat-herd's wife is considered to be an interpolation, and that it was omitted in what appears to have been the oldest MS. But by giving up the passage omitted in the manuscript, we do not get rid of the allusion to the story, or of the reference to the authority of St. Neot's life, for the oldest MS. contained the words, "Et, ut in vita sancti patris Neoti legitur, apud quendam suum vaccarium," and there is, moreover, in this book a second reference to the same authority. Now it is my opinion that no life of St. Neot existed in the time of the real Asser, but that the lives of that Saint were first composed later on in the tenth century, perhaps not till his name was made famous by the violent dispute about the possession of his relics, at the time of their felonious translation from Cornwall to Huntingdonshire, in the year 974.

The second reference to the authority of the Life of St. Neot also relates to what is perhaps a legendary part of Alfred's history, namely, the unknown disease under which he is said to have laboured. At page 12, the writer, with the life of Neot before him, states that he suffered under this disease from the twentieth year of his age until he had passed his fortieth year—"quod (proh dolor!) pessimum est, tantam diuturnitatem a 20 ætatis suæ anno usque 40 et eo amplius annum per tanta annorum curricula incessanter protelasse,"—at which time, when hunting in Cornwall, he came to the shrine of St. Neot, where he humiliated himself in prayer, and was miraculously and *radically* cured—"Sed quodam tempore divino nutu antea cum Cornubiam venandi causa adiret, et ad quendam ecclesiam orandi causa divertisset, in qua sanctus Gueryr requiescit, et nunc etiam sanctus Neotus

ibidem pausat, sublevatus est. Oratione autem finita cœptum iter arripuit, et non multo post tempore, ut in oratione deprecatus fuerat, se ab illo dolore medicatum esse divinitus sensit, ita, ut *funditus eradicaretur*." Yet, after so explicit a statement that the King had been cured of his disease, we find the writer a little further on, at page 17, asserting that he still laboured under it at the time the book was written, and that he had never experienced even a short intermission of relief.—"Nam a 20 ætatis anno usque ad 45 *quem nunc agit*, gravissima incogniti doloris infestatione incessanter fatigatus, ita, ut *ne unius quidem horæ securitatem habeat*, qua aut illam infirmitatem non sustineat, aut sub illius formidine lugubriter prope constitutus non desperet." I can with difficulty be brought to believe that King Alfred's friend Bishop Asser could have made so much confusion.

With the few contemporary documents preserved from the ravages of time, it is impossible to test in a satisfactory manner the historical accuracy of the account of Alfred, which we owe entirely to the writer of this book. I think it would not be difficult to point out one or two passages which are of a kind to excite suspicion, but I will only mention one. Under A.D. 877, Asser says: "Tunc rex Ælfredus jussit cymbas et galeas, id est, *longas naves*, fabricari per regnum:"—I suspect that this is an allusion to the *long ships* which Alfred caused to be constructed, not in 877, but in 897, (as we learn from the Saxon Chronicle,) long after the book from which we are quoting is supposed to have been written. I would add, that I think I can sometimes detect the writer forgetting his assumed character for a moment, and speaking of things as though he were living long after the time at which they occurred. At the period when the book is pretended to have been written, Alfred must have been occupied in the midst of all the reforms he was introducing into his kingdom, and particularly those which affected the administration of justice: I can hardly think that a person writing at the time, and avowedly closing his work with that time, and, moreover, *addressing it to Alfred himself*, would have written thus:—"Erat namque *rex ille* in exequendis judiciis, sicut in cæteris aliis omnibus rebus, discretissimus indagator; nam omnia pene totius suæ regionis judicia, quæ in absentia sua *fiebant*, sagaciter investigabat, qualia *fierent*," &c. I think it

impossible that a person would speak of a King of the country in which he was writing, during his reign, and in a work addressed to that King, as *rex ille*. It would be used rather by a person who was speaking of a King long since dead, and who would distinguish him from those who came before or after him.

Many of Asser's anecdotes are not only evidently legendary, but they are extremely puerile. When we are expecting some remarkable proof of the great genius of Alfred, this writer tells us seriously that the pious monarch, long grieved that the candles offered in his churches should not burn steadily because the wind penetrated through the crevices of the doors and windows, and caused a current of air in the interior, at length hit upon the *wonderful* idea of making horn lanterns to put over them!—"excogitavit, unde talem ventorum sufflationem prohibere potuisset, consilioque *artificiose* atque *sapienter* invento, lanternam ex lignis et bovinis cornibus pulcherrime construere imperavit. *Bovina namque cornua alba, ac in una tenuiter dolabris erasa, non minus vitreo vasculo elucent.* Quæ itaque lanterna *mirabiliter* ex lignis et cornibus, ut ante diximus, facta, noctuque candela in eam missa, exterius ut interius tam lucida ardebat, nullis ventorum flaminibus impedita; quia valvam ad ostium illius lanternæ ex cornibus idem fieri imperaverat."

There is another remarkable circumstance connected with Asser's narrative,—he says nothing of Alfred's writings. Yet it was probably between 890 and 894 that the King translated the *Pastorale* of St. Gregory into Anglo-Saxon, and distributed it among his bishops, in the preface to which work he says he translated it "sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, even as I learnt them of Plegmund my Archbishop, and of Asser my Bishop, and of Grimbold my mass-priest, and of John my mass-priest,"—*Swa swa ic hi ge-leornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscope, 7 æt Assere minum biscope, 7 æt Grimbolde minum mæsse-preoste, 7 æt Johanne minum mæsse-preost.*

It is clear from what has been just said, either that Alfred's translation of the *Pastorale* was made after the year 894, or that the writer of Asser's *Life* of Alfred believed such to have been the case, for it is not possible that, if Asser's book be authentic and the *Pastorale* had been translated before the

time in which it was written, Asser should have been ignorant of so important a circumstance. Now Asser (pp. 18, 19) gives the story (which appears to have been prevalent at a later period, as it is alluded to under different forms by historians of the twelfth century) of the murder of John the "presbyter," by some of his monks, after he had been made by Alfred abbot of Athelney; and he introduces it as a thing which had occurred some time before—(facinus quoque in eodem monasterio *quodam tempore* perpetratum muti taciturnitate silentii oblivioni traderem nam *quodam tempore*, cum instinctu diabolico quidam sacerdos et diaconus . . . contra suum abbatem præfatum Johannem nimium latentur in tantum *amaricati sunt*, &c.)—and which he was going out of his way to mention. Yet Alfred himself, in the passage above quoted from the preface to the Pastoral, speaks of the same John as being not only alive then, but as being a simple presbyter, and not an abbot ("my mass-priest," not "my abbot"). This appears to me sufficient in itself to destroy our faith in the book; and I have no doubt if we had contemporary documents of the proper kind we should find numerous similar mistakes. I am inclined to think that the story concerning Alfred's school for the children of the nobles, where they were to be instructed in the English and Latin languages, (Asser, p. 13) had no other foundation than the words of the King in the same preface—for-þi me þingð betere, gif geow swa þincð, ꝥ we eac sume bec þa þemed beþyrfysta syn eallum mannum to witanne, ꝥ we þa on ꝥ ge-þeode wendon þe we ealle ge-cnawan mægen, 7 ge-don swa we swiðe eaðe magon mid Godes fultume, gif we þa stylnesse habbað, ꝥ eall seo geoguð þe nu is on Angel-cynne freora manna, þara þe þa speda hæbben, ꝥ hi þam befeolan mægen syn to leornunga oðfæste, þa hwile þe hi nanre oþerre note ne mægen, oð fyrst þe hi wel cunnen Englisc ge-writ arædan. Lære mon siððan furðor on Leden ge-þeode, þa þe man furðor læran wille, 7 to herran hade don wille—"therefore it appears to me better, if it appear so to you, that we also some books which are judged most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language which we all know, and bring to pass, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have quietness, that all the youth that now is in the English nation of free-born men, who have the means to maintain them, may be set to learn

ing, while they are capable of no other occupation, until first they know well to read English writing. Let them be afterwards taught further in the Latin tongue, whom one will teach further, or one designs for a higher degree.") We have here an indirect recommendation of a certain mode of instruction, which was to be the result of the English translations of Latin books, but no indications of any schools having been established for the purpose.

We are accustomed to consider Asser as having been made by Alfred, Bishop of Sherborne (though this is not stated in Asser's work). It is rather singular that the original copy of Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge (apparently the one from which Matthew Parker printed the Introduction), is addressed to Wulf-sige Bishop of Sherborne, although in the same introduction Asser is spoken of as being a Bishop. Perhaps the Asser of history was made Bishop of Sherborne towards the end of Alfred's reign, or in that of his successor, having previously been Bishop of some other see. The list of the Bishops of Sherborne in Godwin is confused; a better list is found in the Cottonian Manuscript, Tiberius B. v. written about the year 993, where they stand thus, Ealhstan, Heahmund, Æthelheah, Wulf-sige, Asser, Æthelweard, Waerstan, Æthelbald, Sigelm, Ælfred, Wulf-sige, Alfwold, Æthelsige. The Saxon Chronicle gives us the bare statement that Asser Bishop of Sherborne died in 910 (nine years after King Alfred). And Asser biscop ge-for æfter þam, se was æt Scireburnan biscop.

I think that the writer of the book (supposing it to be a forgery) did know that Asser was a Bishop, although his information is not easily reconciled with history. After giving a somewhat ostentatious and suspicious account of the favours which he had received from Alfred, and telling us that the King made him in one day abbot of the two monasteries of Angresbury and Banwell, at the same time promising greater gifts at a future period, he adds, that the King afterwards gave him "Exeter, with the whole *parochia* which appertained to it in Saxony (Wessex) and in Cornwall,"—nam sequentis temporis successu ex improviso dedit mihi Exanceastre, cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia (p. 15). I believe that among the Anglo-Saxon writers the word *parochia* (our *parish*) was used

invariably (according to its Greek root) to signify an episcopal diocese;^b and that Asser (or the person who took on himself to represent him) intended to say that the King made him Bishop of Exeter. I am not aware that there was a Bishop of Exeter before the reign of Edward the Confessor, when (about A.D. 1049) the see of Crediton was removed to Exeter by Leofric. I at first thought that the book of which we are speaking might have been fabricated towards the end of the tenth century; but the mistake just pointed out, would bring it down as low as the reign of the Confessor. At either of those periods, traditionary anecdotes of King Alfred, the "darling of the English," as he is called in the popular poetry even of the twelfth century, must have been very abundant, and in everybody's mouth. At both periods it may have had a political use, either as intended to encourage the Anglo-Saxons in resisting the Danes, or in supporting the English party headed by Earl Godwin against Edward's Norman and French favourites. For this purpose, some monk appears to have conceived the idea of forming a life out of the traditions, and to have taken for his groundwork a copy of the Saxon Chronicle (perhaps mutilated and ending with the year 894) and the legendary life of St. Neot; and, in order to give greater authority to his book, he pretended that it was written by Alfred's friend Asser. This would also account for the writer's dwelling so much on Alfred's patriotic love for the popular poetry of his native land, which must have been a peculiarly gratifying theme to the Anglo-Saxons in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The writer's ignorance with regard to the see of Exeter is not greater than several historical blunders in the life of St. Neot. There appeared another edition of the life of Alfred, with the addition of the translation of the entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle previous to Alfred's

^b Thus, to quote the first example which comes to hand, the list of Bishops of the end of the tenth century in MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. v. it is said of Wessex, in duas *parrochias* divisa est, altera Uentanae ecclesiae, altera Scireburnensis ecclesiae . . . Uentania ecclesia in duas *parrochias* divisa est tempore Friðestan . . . deinde in tres *parrochias* divisa est, Wiltunensis, et Willensis, et Cridiensis ecclesiae . . . Provincia Merciorum *duos episcopos* habuit Headdan et Unfridum, postea Wilfrið electus et Headda præfatus regebant *ambas parrochias*, &c. &c. (See *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170, where this valuable document is printed.)

birth, and a short continuation from the same source. It was printed by Gale, and goes under the name of *Asserii Annales*; but its more proper title is said to be the *Chronicle of St. Neot's*, it having been written there. This circumstance, and the use made of the life of St. Neot,^c lead me to suggest that the writer of the life of Alfred was a monk of that house. It does not appear, on an investigation of the subject, that any person has ever seen a MS. of Asser which can safely be assigned to an earlier date than the eleventh century.

These are the grounds on which I have been led to suspect the Life of Alfred attributed to Asser. It is a subject which requires further investigation; and I have too much diffidence in my own reasoning to venture to quote the book as other than authentic, until they be confirmed by the opinions of better scholars than myself.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

^c Leland mentions the *Chronicle* alluded to, and two different *Lives of the Saint*, as being in the library of St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire.

XV. *Effigy of King Richard, Cœur de Lion, in the Cathedral at Rouen. Communicated to the Society by ALBERT WAY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq., F.R.S., Director.*

Read 25th March 1841.

DEAR SIR,

March 22, 1841.

THE announcement in the French journals of the month of August 1838, that by the researches of the distinguished antiquary of Normandy, M. Deville, the lost effigy of King Richard had been brought to light from beneath the pavement of the choir in Rouen Cathedral, induced me to take the earliest opportunity of visiting that city, with the special purpose of examining so interesting a memorial. During the last summer I had the occasion of correcting the observations previously made, and which I had reserved in the hope that no long interval would elapse, before a second similar investigation, conducted with the same enthusiasm, and rewarded by a like success, might enable me to add to this notice of the relics of the Lion-hearted Richard, some account of the Tomb of Henry his elder brother, whose remains were deposited near to the spot where the effigy of Richard has been discovered, and whose memorial shared the same fate, by which both tombs were barbarously condemned to be destroyed. Owing to unexpected circumstances no further researches have hitherto been permitted, and as I am not aware, that during the interval any accurate report of the discovery made in 1838, has been made public, I am induced to hope that a short notice on a subject so interesting both in relation to early art, and to monumental antiquities, may not be unacceptable to the Society.

There are many circumstances of interest connected with M. Deville's discovery, and communicated to me by him with the most friendly and

obliging liberality, into which it is not my purpose to enter in detail, because he has signified an intention of giving a minute account from the notices drawn up by himself at the time, as a supplement to his valuable work on the monumental remains in Rouen Cathedral; this promised communication is, as I believe, withheld only in the expectation that further researches, which he still hopes to be permitted to undertake, may lead to the discovery of the other lost memorial to which I have alluded, namely, the effigy of Henry, the eldest son of Henry IInd. crowned King in his father's life-time, and interred in the choir of Rouen Cathedral in 1183.

Richard having received his death wound under the walls of the castle of Chaluz in Limosin, directed that his body should be interred at Fontevrault, at the foot of his father's tomb; his effigy is still preserved there, and has been accurately represented by Charles Stothard. His heart he bequeathed to the Canons of Rouen, to whom in his lifetime he had been a benefactor, and who gratefully enshrined the relic in a sumptuous receptacle, as we learn from a contemporary writer, Guillaume le Breton.

— “Cujus cor Rotomagensis
Ecclesiæ clerus argento clausit et auro,
Sanctorumque inter sacra corpora, in æde sacratâ
Compositum, nimio devotus honorat honore;
Ut tantæ ecclesiæ devotio tanta patenter
Innuat in vitâ quantum dilexerit illum.”

PHILIPPIDOS, Lib. v.

Of what precise description was the memorial here alluded to as originally erected by the Church of Rouen, a question arises which demands a detailed inquiry: with respect to the identity of the effigy discovered, it may be unquestionably asserted, that it is the same, which was preserved until 1734 on the south side of the choir at Rouen, the acknowledged memorial of King Richard, and as such engraved by Montfaucon, in the second volume of his *Monarchie Française*, plate xv, from a sketch made at the beginning of the last century by the direction of M. de Gaignières, and now preserved in the collection which bears his name, in the Cabinet of Engravings at the King's Library in Paris. The representation is however deficient in accuracy, and the attitude of the figure changed: the only memorial known to

exist of the entire tomb with the effigy, is preserved in the valuable collection of drawings of monuments in France, bequeathed to the Bodleian by Gough, and formed of the original sketches taken by the artist who accompanied M. de Gaignières in his archaeological tours, and furnished Montfaucon with the greater portion of his illustrative materials. From this sketch, of which I inclose you a copy for the inspection of the Society, (Plate XIX.) it appears that the effigy was placed on a plain slab, which rested on the backs of four couching lions: several tombs of the same design occur on the continent, to which the date may be assigned of the earlier years of the 13th century, and the memorial of Henry at Rouen, to which I have alluded, was, as appears by a drawing in the Bodleian, almost precisely similar. It was only in 1734 that these interesting sepulchres disappeared. The Canons of Rouen thought fit to add to the embellishment of the sanctuary, by elevating it considerably above the level of the surrounding area, and at this period the tombs of Henry and of Richard, of the Regent John Duke of Bedford, and Charles V. King of France, whose heart had been there deposited in 1380, were totally demolished, no memorial being preserved, except a small inscribed slab of marble inserted in the new pavement, to mark the position of each tomb, that had been thus condemned as encumbering the area of the choir. A lozenge-fashioned slab on the south side bears still the following inscription:

COR

RICHARDI REGIS ANGLIÆ

NORMANNIÆ DUCIS

COR-LEONIS DICTI

OBIIT ANNO

MCXCIX.

Having given this general account of the original character of the tomb, as far as existing authorities assist us, and of its destruction, I must allude briefly to the circumstances that led to, and that attended the discovery, which is the subject of the present communication. It occurred to my friend, M. Deville, that, although in the destruction of the tombs themselves no portion had been preserved, yet possibly the heart, or the mouldering bones, that lay beneath, might have met with some respect, and the inscrip-

tion on the pavement seemed to afford some indication that these remains, and possibly some fragments of the tomb or the effigy might there be discovered, near to the spot where such a relic as the Lion Heart had been originally enshrined by the pious Canons of Rouen. Enthusiastically impressed with this idea, he commenced, with the sanction of the authorities, an excavation near the spot alluded to, on July 30, 1838, adjoining the entrance to the choir from the south aisle, opposite to the vestry. On removing the pavement a compact bed of mortar was perceived, which had by time acquired such a degree of hardness, that it was with difficulty broken up: about two feet below the surface, was discovered imbedded in this mortar, the effigy of Richard, all the cavities of the drapery and other parts of the figure were filled up with the cement poured over it, apparently to form a compact substratum for the new pavement of the choir: the projecting parts of the head, the hands and feet had apparently been levelled by the hammer with the same intention. When cleared, however, from the mortar, which had become almost as hard as the stone itself, the defaced, but still highly interesting memorial proved to be in a more perfect state of preservation, than might have been anticipated, and the painting and gilding with which every part had been decorated was on many portions still perceptible. The effigy having been carefully removed into the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, where it still remains, a long and fruitless research commenced beneath the spot where it had lain, with the hope of discovering the heart of Richard; and after excavating till the undisturbed soil was attained, and all expectation of success began to fail, the interesting relic was at length found concealed in a closed cavity which had been formed on purpose in the adjoining lateral wall, built at the time the sanctuary had been raised, between the piers by which it is surrounded, and enclosing the newly elevated area. On July 31st was this remarkable relic brought to light: the heart was found enclosed within two boxes of lead, the external one measuring 17 inches, by 11, and about six inches in height; within this was a second interior case, lined with a thin leaf of silver, that time had in great part decayed, and thus inscribed within, in rudely graven characters,

+ HIC : IACET :
 COR : RICAR
 DI : REGIS :
 ANGLORVM.

That this inscription, so deeply fraught with the magic charm that such memorials of times long past possess, is truly contemporary with the decease of Richard, no doubt can be entertained : the fac-simile accompanying this notice (Plate XX.) will supply sufficient evidence to any one who is the least versed in French palæography. It is, however, satisfactory to compare its character with that of the inscription on the châsse presented to the Cathedral of Rouen towards the close of the 13th century, by Drogo de Trubleville, which bears the name of King Richard, and presents the most perfect identity in the form of the character.^a

It may here be not unworthy of observation, that the epithet "Cœur de Lion" does not appear to have been assigned to Richard, until after his decease, and we find it not in this interesting inscription. It were indeed satisfactory, if we could regard the newly discovered effigy of the King as a work of contemporary execution, with the same confidence that enables us to pronounce an opinion upon the inscription. Differing materially from the effigy at Fontevrault, which may reasonably be considered as a work coeval with the decease of the Monarch, the effigy at Rouen at first sight in its less exaggerated proportion, greater freedom of design, and more skilful execution, impresses us with the conviction that it was sculptured considerably later than the period of Richard's untimely end. The careful examination, however, of monumental sculpture as displayed in existing specimens in northern France, the comparison of this work with the effigy of King John in Worcester Cathedral, and with the character of design exhibited on the great seal of John, have led me to a conviction that Richard's effigy at Rouen was sculptured not long subsequently to his decease. It measured, previously to the mutilation of the ornaments of the crown, nearly seven feet, the entire block of stone from which it is sculptured measuring 7 feet 8 inches.

^a It is now preserved in the Musée d'Antiquités at Rouen, and has been represented in the *Memoirs of the Antiquaries of Normandy*, 1836.

† HIC: IACET:
 COR: RICAR.
 DI: REGIS:
 ANGLORVM:

Richard Cœur de Lion. 1199.
Inscription on the interior of the leaden box containing his heart
discovered July 31. 1855. in the Choir of Rouen Cathedral.
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 12th 1856.

The features have materially suffered; the nose and chin have been rudely levelled, apparently at the time when the tomb was demolished, and nearly all the original surface of the sculpture is worn away: yet, with all these injuries, the features retain still a degree of stern dignity of expression, and a character more marked than strikes the eye in viewing the effigy at Fontevrault, which, more interesting as being more closely contemporary with the decease of Richard, is yet inferior in many respects. It is remarkable, and at first view disappointing, that these duplicate effigies do not correspond; some degree of identity of features may indeed be traced, but the details of costume are wholly different; in design and in ornament the two statues are totally dissimilar, and it may safely be asserted that the Norman sculptor could never have seen the representation of Richard that existed in Poitou. Stothard's accurate etchings render any detailed comparison unnecessary. On the effigy at Rouen we perceive the hair carefully divided on the crown of the head, and arranged in small waving locks, which falling full on each side, and covering the ears, form at their extremities a regular curl all around the head: the hair on the face appears to have been wholly shaved, for neither beard, whiskers, nor mustachios appear, as in the representation at Fontevrault. The hair of the head appears to have been painted with a sandy red, or ochre colour. The upper ornaments of the crown consisted of four large leaves, alternating with four small knops or pomels, which seem to have been spirally grooved: the circle of the crown, which bears these ornaments, measures two and a half inches in depth, and is divided by pearled borders into eight pannels, slightly depressed, and each of which contained, as represented by brilliant colouring, a large gem, either emerald or sapphire, with two smaller gems, apparently rubies, on either side. All these gems are cut perfectly flat, and set in plain collets with their edges bevelled. The crown, although possessing some points of resemblance to the ornament that occurs on that of the effigy at Fontevrault, is not identical with any other crown that I have been able to discover; in conjunction with other details, it may possibly serve to fix precisely the age of the sculpture. The statue is not vested in the whole of the regal robes, as we see them at Fontevrault;^b two garments only are perceptible, a long

^b We learn from the *Annales Ecclesie Wintoniensis* an interesting fact in relation to the interment at Fontevrault: "*Scitu quidem dignum est, quod dictus Rex sepultus est cum*

mantle of a blue colour, fastened by a tasselled band across the breast, the skirt raised, and thrown over the left arm, a fashion observable in other instances, and adopted probably to give greater apparent freedom to the design. Under the mantle is seen a single tunic, fastened at the throat by a square fibula, which serves to close a short slit in the front of the robe, according to a fashion seen in numerous effigies of the earlier part of the 13th century: this tunic is girt by a long girdle of blue tissue, harnessed with bars and quatrefoils of gold alternately, and furnished with a richly chased buckle and pendant. The colour of this tunic, which reaches to the ancles, was of a rich red, and it was probably, as well as the mantle, diapered in patterns intended to represent the rich samite or other elaborate tissues, of which the vestments of the great were formed at this period, such as we see displayed in Stothard's coloured plate of the Effigies at Fontevrault: the colour, however, is on this statue so defaced, that the details of the ornamental design cannot be ascertained. In the left hand was placed the sceptre, now totally destroyed, but it may be traced by a portion which remains in the hand, and by slight fractures on the surface of the stone on the left shoulder against which it rested. The fashion of the sceptre we learn from the drawing in the Bodleian to have been similar to that which occurs commonly in the 13th century; its head was formed of a large swelling bud of leaves, apparently just bursting open. The right hand appears to have held the band that attached the mantle, an attitude which is indeed ungraceful, but of rather frequent occurrence in contemporary sculpture. There are no jewelled gloves upon the hands, as at Fontevrault, the insignia of royal or hierarchical dignity: nor upon the feet do we find the buskins, but shoes of cloth of gold, or some richly embroidered stuff, cut out low on the foot in a fashion similar to that which is seen in the curious paintings on the south side of the Sanctuary at Westminster, and fastened by lachets which meet over the instep, and are buckled or buttoned together. (Plate XXI.)

The head of the effigy rests upon a square cushion, the case or pillow-bere in which it is inclosed was of a bright red colour, diapered with a pattern of

eâdem coronâ et cæteris insignibus Regalibus, quibus præcedente quinto anno coronatus et infulatus fuerat apud Wintoniam." Anglia Sacra, tom. i. 304.

gold, and had small flat knops at the corners ; it opened only at one end, as may be seen at the right side of the head, and was closed by a double lace that passed through eyelet holes in the embroidered edges of the pillow-bere. The feet rest against a lion, couching upon a mass of rock, or rather, as it would appear, an assemblage of rounded or water-worn pebbles : and in this part of the tomb some singular details present themselves, which must not be overlooked. In a cavity of this rocky bank, is seen the head of a hare or rabbit just peeping out of its burrow ; a little above is a dog warily watching the mouth of the hole, and lying in wait for its prey : at one side is represented a large lizard crawling among the rocks, and at the other a bird resembling a partridge or a quail. I have met among the accessory ornaments of monumental sculpture with nothing analogous to this, and though convinced that what in itself may appear merely a trifling detail, was not placed here without design, I am quite at a loss to conjecture what could have been its import. It has been suggested to me by some antiquaries on the continent, that this sculpture may be allusive to the rights of the chase, the exclusive privilege of the King and the nobility, and which were preserved by Richard with the like jealous care, as by other contemporary princes, but this explanation appears wholly unsatisfactory.

The minuteness of detail with which I have entered into the description of the present state of this interesting effigy, may, I fear, seem tedious and unnecessary ; I have thought it desirable, because I believe it possible that the statue may undergo some restoration, which, indeed, in part is perhaps indispensable, and moreover the decay of time, or wanton injury, may hereafter efface those indications of its original appearance, that now are sufficiently discernible. There is something so striking in the character of this piece of sculpture, disfigured as it is by reckless mutilation, it is so superior to the effigies at Fontevrault, to that of King John at Worcester, and generally to the existing memorials of the earlier portion of the 13th century, that a few observations, which may perhaps lead to determine the precise period at which the sculpture was executed, will not I hope be without interest.

Richard had with his dying breath directed that his body should be transported to Fontevrault, and there deposited, in token of penitence for his past

conduct and want of filial affection, at the feet of his father Henry the Second: his brain, his blood, and viscera, he bequeathed to the Poitevins, being, as some chroniclers have represented it, the less worthy portion of his remains, in remembrance of their treacherous conduct towards him in times past; and these relics appear to have been interred at Charroux, the first town in Poitou that lay in the course which the funeral convoy would probably take, in proceeding towards Fontevrault from the Limosin. It would be interesting to ascertain whether any memorial of this singular deposit was, as seems highly probable, in accordance with contemporary usage, erected at Charroux, or any tradition of the circumstance has been preserved at that place, but hitherto all researches on the subject have been fruitless.^c Last of all, in testimony of his special regard, Richard bequeathed to the Canons of Rouen, his heart, according to the Chronicle of Normandy, "en remembrance d'amour."

"His herte inuincible to Roan he sent full mete,
For their great truth, and stedfast great constauce."

HARDYNG, *Metrical Chronicle*.

Gervase of Dover, a contemporary historian, describing the obsequies of Richard, relates, "cor ipsius grossitudine præstans, Rothomagum delatum est, et honorifice tumulatum."^d With what intense interest must those, who after the lapse of six centuries, were permitted to gaze on the precious relic, have viewed the heart, once as remarkable for its physical capacity, as by its

^c At the end of the "Itinerarium Regis Richardi in terram sanctam," written by Geoffrey Vinisauf, who appears to have accompanied him in his expedition, are some Latin verses, which in Gale's edition are attributed to the author of the chronicle. (*Hist. Angl. Script.* vol. ii. 433.) In a MS. of this Itinerary, preserved in the British Museum, a distich, which occurs among the verses printed by Gale, is thus given,

"Epitaphium ejusdem (Regis Ricardi) ubi viscera ejus requiescunt.
Viscera Kareolum, corpus Fons servat Ebraldi,
Set cor Rothomagus, magne Ricarde, tuum."

Cott. MS. Faust. A. vii.

This inscription is, with some variations, given by Brompton, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1280, and Otterbourne, *Chron. Regum Angl.* vol. i. 73, ed. Hearne.

^d *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1628.

moral developement, withered, as it was described to me, to the semblance of a faded leaf. Richard died on the 6th of April, 1199, and in all probability the token of his undiminished affection was conveyed forthwith to its final resting-place at Rouen : yet had it been immediately placed in the choir of the Cathedral, it scarcely could have escaped the rapid conflagration which occurred on April 10th, 1200, when the Cathedral with all its rich contents, books, ornaments, and bells, became a prey to the flames. Perhaps was it owing to the delay necessary in order to fabricate the costly decorations with which the gratitude of the Canons enriched the memorial of their benefactor, that the heart of Richard did not perish in the general ruin of the church : and not many years elapsing before by the zeal and energy of Archbishop Gautier, who presided over the see until his death in 1207, the fabric had again risen from the ashes, we find direct mention of the sumptuous memorial enriched with gold and silver, as Le Breton describes it, wherein the lion heart had been enshrined. A contemporary historian, Albericus Trium Fontium, whose chronicle closes 1241, speaks of the noble sepulchre of Richard,^e which in the *Croniques de Normandie* is said to have been "sepulture Royal d'argent," or "une Châsse d'Argent:" and to this châsse I imagine that Le Breton refers in the lines,

— "cujus cor Rotomagensis
Ecclesiæ clerus argento *clausit* et auro,"

as the words appear quite as applicable to one of the elaborate works wherein at this period sacred relics were enclosed or enshrined, such as the châsse of St. Romain, and that of St. Sever, which still exist at Rouen, as to a *clausura*, *clôture*, or railing of silver, whereby the memorial was originally, as some have supposed, surrounded. The precious portion of the memorial of Richard, of whatever nature it was, disappeared as early as 1250, when it was appropriated towards the ransom of Saint Louis, who had been captured by the Saracens at Damietta. The *Chroniques de Normandie* inform us that the "sepulture Royal d'argent," called in the edition by le Mesgissier the

^e "Cor suum misit Rotomagum, ubi nobilis ejus sepultura constructa est." Bouquet, *Historiens des Gaules*, tom. xviii. p. 762.

"châsse" that had contained the heart, "pour la rançon du roy Sainet Loys de France, quant il fut prisonnier aux Sarrazins, fut despecée et vendue."^f

There arises here an inquiry of material importance in regard to the precise age of the effigy at Rouen, for in the printed Chronicles of Normandy, and in the History of the Province by Du Moulin, it is stated expressly, that when this "sepulture d'argent" was thus applied to make up the heavy sum demanded by the Soldan for the ransom of the French monarch, "au lieu mesme en fut faite une de pierre." This statement, which at first sight would appear conclusive, as to the age of the effigy, and to fix its date as of the middle of the 13th century, seems to me on various grounds questionable. The passage that thus asserts that a sepulchre of silver had been replaced by one of stone, occurs only in the later printed editions of these Chronicles; it is not found in the earlier Paris edition, and is wanting in every MS. I have had the opportunity of consulting, and especially in the fine transcript which forms a portion of the volume presented to Henry VI. by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, preserved in the British Museum, as also in MSS. at Rouen. The evidence therefore to be derived from Du Moulin and the Chronicles printed by Le Mesgissier, appears to me inconclusive, and I am disposed to think the passage an interpolation arising from the unwarrantable surmise that, because the more precious memorial had disappeared, the effigy of stone which alone remained, was no portion of the original work, but had been placed there to supply the deficiency. With regard to the real date of the work, I would look specially to the style of art and decorative character, as displayed in the extensive series of regal effigies of the age of St. Louis in the crypts at St. Denis: their date may be fixed with confidence at about 1260, and from a careful comparison, I have no hesitation in asserting that the Rouen effigy must be placed at a period many years anterior; a conviction that the examination of other sculptured works in France, and of the effigy of King John at Worcester, has appeared to me sufficiently to corroborate. But a conclusive argument may, I conceive, be found with respect to the early age of this curious effigy, in the peculiarities of contemporary usage: at the period of Richard's decease, the singular

^f Roy. MS. 15 E. VI. f. 446 v^o, and the numerous editions of the "*Croniques de Normandie*," printed at Rouen, and Paris.

custom of distributing the remains, as deposits in various places, which arose perhaps from the pious wish to secure the prayers of several congregations in favour of the soul of the deceased, was by no means unusual. A few instances may suffice to shew that in such cases the custom was to place at each spot where any portion of the departed had been destined to rest, an effigy, not always indeed identical as a portraiture, which in the present instance, as has been observed with regard to the effigy at Fontevault, is not the case, but invariably a presumed representation of the personage commemorated.

The interesting communication recently made to the Society by Mr. Hunter regarding the memorials of Queen Eleanor, affords an illustration of this, as far as I am aware, unique in England: her effigy and memorial in Lincoln Cathedral, where her viscera were interred, are described as identical with the exquisite work still preserved at Westminster; and it appears that in the church of the Black Friars, London, where her heart was deposited, a third similar memorial was erected. The remains of Marie de Bourbon were deposited at St. Yved de Braine in 1274, and an elaborate enamelled statue was placed to her memory, whilst a second but dissimilar effigy was to be seen in the church of St. Estienne at Dreux where her heart was interred. The same usage obtained in regard to Philippe le Hardi in 1285; his body was interred at St. Denis, and his viscera at Narbonne, an effigy being placed in both churches; and adjacent to the statue which forms the subject of my communication, was once seen at Rouen the duplicate effigy of Charles V. Instances might readily be multiplied, but the fact appears undeniable that by conventional usage a monumental effigy was placed at each spot where, by these singular dismemberments, a portion of the remains was deposited; and hence I am disposed to conclude, that the statue of Richard, considering the questionable evidence afforded by the printed chronicles, which, would lead to the surmise that it was a work of the age of St. Louis, and the marked dissimilarity apparent between the character of its execution, and that of works indubitably of the times of St. Louis, is in fact a work of the earlier years of the 13th century, and in all probability of the times of Archbishop Gautier, and the restoration of the cathedral after the conflagration. The costly shrine which the chronicles inform us was removed in 1250, I conceive to have been the receptacle only, wherein was enclosed the distin-

guished relic of the Lion-hearted Monarch whose effigy and memorial lay beneath, being an essential feature of the original monumental design.

I must beg your indulgence, and that of the Society, if an enthusiastic interest in works of this description has made me enter into details that may appear tedious or trivial: it has seemed to me, that to establish with the greatest possible precision the date of any work, which may serve as a type of art, is neither unprofitable, nor uninteresting to those who are occupied in researches into the progress of medieval sculpture or decoration.

There remain some perplexing discrepancies in relation to the decease and obsequies of Richard, that merit a passing notice. The numerous chronicles, of which many are closely contemporary with the event, vary in a most remarkable degree as to the exact date of his untimely end. A careful investigation, however, of the many conflicting statements sufficiently shews, that the wound was inflicted by the quarrel of Bertram le Gurdun from the walls of Chaluz, on the viith of the calends of April, 26th March; and that on the eleventh day, the viiith of the ides of April, namely April 6th, 1199, the death of Richard occurred, as stated by Hoveden, who is followed by the Annalist of Burton, Knighton, and others. A contemporary Necrology preserved in the archives of Rouen Cathedral confirms the last fact:

"VIII. Idus Aprilis, obiit Richardus illustris Rex Anglorum, qui redit huic ecclesiæ CCC modios vini de modiatione suâ apud Rothomagum, pro restauratione dampnorum eidem ecclesiæ illatorum a Rege Franciæ."

It is not a little curious that by one chronicler the scene of the fate of Richard has been placed, not in the Limosin, but under the walls of Château Gaillard, which was erected by him on the shores of the Seine: the relation occurs in Walter de Hemingford, it is considerably detailed, and, strange to say, the circumstances noticed accord with the peculiar position of that remarkable fortress: as, however, his record, however circumstantial, was not penned until more than a century had elapsed subsequent to the event, it merits no further observation.^g With regard also to the place, where the heart

^g Gale, *Hist. Angl. Script.* vol. ii. 550. Hemingford's tale has been adopted by a subsequent chronicler, Thomas Otterbourne, who lived early in the 15th century. *Chron. Regum*

of Richard was deposited, there existed a contradictory tradition as recorded by Stowe, who informs us, that on the north side of Allhallows Barking church, near the Tower of London, was some time built a fair chapel founded by King Richard I.; and that some have written that his heart was buried there under the high altar.

It is not uninteresting to know, incontrovertible as is the evidence of the chronicles which place the closing catastrophe of Richard's career at Chaluz, that local tradition fully accords with their testimony. My friend M. Allou, President of the Royal Society of French Antiquaries, a native of the Limosin, informs me that, having made a pilgrimage to the Castle of Chaluz, the very spot was pointed out to him, called *la pierre de Maumont* (*de Malo monte*) where immemorial tradition had recorded that Richard received his death wound from the shaft of the "*Roi Gourdon*,"^h—it perhaps seemed to the vulgar that the Victor of Saladin could have fallen by the hand of none save an equal in regal dignity.

Nothing now remains in addition to this notice, except to mention the sepulchral inscription anciently affixed at Rouen, in a position adjoining the effigy of the King. I extract it from the fine copy of the *Chronicles of Normandy*, preserved among the Royal MSS. in the volume presented to Henry VI. by the Earl of Shrewsbury.ⁱ "*Et sont intitulez ces vers de lui*

Angl. vol. i. 73, ed. Hearne. An allusion to it is made by Peter Langtoft in his *Metrical Chronicle*, printed by Hearne, where he speaks of the fatal event in the *Limosin*,

"I wene it hate Chahalouns, or it hate Galiard,

Outher the castelle or the toun, ther smyten was Richard."

Rastell relates the death of King Richard as having occurred at "*Castell Gayllarde*." See the interesting account of the *Château Gaillard*, published by M. Deville, Rouen, 1829.

^h *Description des Monumens observés dans le Departement de la Haute Vienne*, par C. N. Allou, p. 356.

ⁱ Royal MS. 15 E. VI. f. 446 vo. This inscription is given with some variations in the printed editions of the *Chronicle of Normandy*, and the six first lines will be found in Matthew Paris, A. D. 1190. According to the former, the first line commences thus, "*Achalus cecidit Rex*," but the reading, which doubtless is correct, is given by M. Paris, "*Ad Chalus*." The tenth line differs in the printed copy solely in the epithet "*inestimabile*," but the repetition of the word "*Regis*" is evidently a corrupt reading, which, where it oc-

fais en vng tablel deuant sa Representacion en la dicte Eglise Nostre Dame de Rouen, au costé du Reuestuaire, et se commencent ainsi :

“ Epithafion inclite Recordacionis Ricardi condam Regis Anglie dicti corleonis.

“ Aqualus cecidit Rex, regni cardo, Ricardus,
Hiis ferus, (hiis) humilis, hiis agnus, hiis leo pardus.
Caus erat lucis Chalus, per secula nomen
Ignotum fuerat, sed certum nominis omen
Nunc patuit, res clausa fuit, sed luce cadente
Prodiit in lucem per casum lucis adempte.
Anno millesimo ducentesimo minus uno,
Ambrosii festo decessit ab orbe molesto.
Putans extra ducis sepelis rea terra Qualucis,
Nustria tuque Regis cor inexpugnabile Regis.
Corpus das claudi sub marmore Fons Eberaudi.
Sic loca per trina se spersit tanta ruina,
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus unus,
Ejus vita brevis cunctis plangetur in evis.”^k

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

ALBERT WAY.

To JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

curs first, should be altered to “ tegis.” The previous line is equally incorrect, but the true reading is not so readily to be suggested; in the printed Chronicle it runs as follows :

“ Pictavis exta ducis sepelis rea terra caduci.”

^k The feast of St. Ambrose was observed on the day before the nones, April 4th; but the decease of Richard occurred, as has been above stated, on April 6th. It must be remarked that the first six lines only of this inscription are given by Matthew Paris, and that the subsequent portion differs from the former in being written in Leonine verse; it seems therefore possible that the two portions were composed at different times, or by different versifiers, the later of whom followed the authority of some chronicle, which incorrectly recorded the 4th of April as the date of King Richard's demise.

XVI. *Notices of recent discoveries of Roman Antiquities at Strood, Bapchild, Oare, and Upchurch, in Kent, with remarks on the site of the Durolevum of Antoninus.* By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read 2nd April 1840.

DEAR SIR,

Lothbury, March 30, 1840.

IN the autumn of 1838, and in the spring of last year, excavations were made for the foundations of cottages, and also for materials for brick-making, in a field called Church-field, situate on the banks of the Medway, between the town of Strood and the Temple farm, and opposite the castle of Rochester.

Some jet rings, and an ornament of the same material bearing a Medusa's head, were exhibited to the Society about a twelvemonth since, with a brief remark, stating the fact of their having been found during the progress of the work, with several hundred coins.

This announcement induced me to visit the spot. Finding that the report was not exaggerated, but, on the contrary, that other discoveries had been made and might still be looked for, I repeated my visit several times during the summer, and now lay the result before you; at the same time I am enabled to furnish information relative to contemporary investigations in other parts of the county of Kent.

The excavations in the Church-field at Strood have disclosed the position of a Roman burial-place, at the station Durobrovis, or as it is sometimes written, Durobrivæ, which probably included in its limits a portion of the Strood side of the river. The Roman road, which led to London, diverged a little from its straight course and passed above this field, to avoid the low-land which at high tides must have been subject to inundations.

The church-field, lying on the verge of this marsh, rises with a gentle slope towards the east, and is thus secure from overflowings of the river which periodically visit the contiguous marshes. It appeared, that at some former period, the field had been lowered at least two feet, most probably for materials in brick-making.

The remains discovered are wholly of the sepulchral kind, and consist of an extensive variety of earthen vases and urns of white and coloured clay of all dimensions and shapes, some plain, others more or less ornamented, but all possessing that beauty and elegance of design so uniformly characteristic of the works of ancient art.^a

These were deposited at depths varying from two to four feet, and were found, as is usual in such interments, in groups of three or four, the larger kind with wide mouths, containing in almost every instance human bones marked by the action of fire, and mixed with beads of jet, glass and coloured clay, rings, armillæ and fibulæ in bronze, bone pins, ligulæ, &c.

Skeletons were interspersed, but, not having been present during their exhumation, I am unable to say whether, from the particular coins found with them, a conclusion might have been formed as to the period at which the interment of the entire body predominated. From the vestiges of nails and oxidized iron it may be reasonably inferred that the corpses had been incased in some instances in wooden coffins.

The rings, beads, armillæ, and other articles used as ornaments or appendages to the dress of the deceased, were deposited by the mourners, with the ashes or bodies of their departed friends, from an amiable though irrational notion, that the objects which in life were prized, would, in some undefined manner, be appreciated by the souls of the departed: a feeling of affection which prompted with equal sincerity the sacrifice, at the funeral piles of the wealthy, of the most costly offerings, the "*vestes ostroque auroque rigentes*,"^b and the little tokens of surviving love placed in the simple urns of the nameless tenants of this humble cemetery.

^a For the drawings of these and other remains exhibited to the Society, together with the Map (Plate XXII.) and its references, I am indebted to Mr. Humphrey Wickham of Strood, who has also supplied me with much useful information relative to this discovery. To Mr. S. Steele of Strood, and to Mr. Charlton of Chatham, I am likewise indebted for ready access afforded to their collections from the Church-field.

^b *Æneid*, lib. xi. line 71.

But the most interesting feature of the discovery is in the number of coins found scattered throughout the line of interment among the urns and skeletons. The earliest is of Antonia, and the latest of Gratian. With the exception of two or three base denarii, they are entirely of the brass series. There are but few specimens prior to Vespasian; but those of the Antonines and Faustinas are abundant, as are also the small brass of Carausius, Allectus, and particularly those of the Constantine family.^c

These coins clearly establish the fact of the burial-place being used from an early period down to the departure of the Romans from Britain; in confirmation of which, it may be remarked, that coins of certain Emperors were observed to abound at particular spots in the field; thus, at one stage of the excavations, coins of Vespasian and Domitian were only found; after a while, at a distance a little remote, none but those of the Constantines were obtained, and apart from them were procured the large brass of the Antonines. Those of the later periods are generally speaking in better preservation than the earlier ones, many of which exhibit signs of having been long in circulation.

As sepulchral remains have been found on the other side of the river, in the immediate vicinity of the castle, it is evident that the inhabitants of Durobrovis did not confine the interment of their dead to one place of sepulture; they most probably adapted themselves to circumstances, and, when population extended, selected places for burial at distances a little more remote. Thus, at London, I have often noticed funereal remains adjoining and even under the houses of the ancient city, which must have been indubitably deposited at an early period, and while the buildings were confined in comparatively narrow limits.

^c These coins, independent of the interest attached to them in connexion with the locality, present us with only one new type. This is on a small brass coin of Carausius. Obv. IMP. CARAVSIVS. P. AVG. Radiated head to the right, bust in the paludamentum. Rev. LEG. IIXX. PRIMIG. In exergue ML. Capricorn to the right. This coin was previously unknown. It is of historical importance in authenticating the fact of this legion, or one or more of its cohorts, having sided with Carausius in his assumption of the imperial power in Britain. The numerals may stand either for eighteen or twenty-two; I am inclined to prefer the latter reading, as the twenty-second legion, having the title of *Primagena*, and composed of foreigners, was quartered in Gaul and Belgium.

BAPCHILD.

At Bapchild, a village on the line of the grand Roman road from Dubris to Durobrivæ, another burial-ground has very recently been ascertained to exist in a field called Batfield, which borders the high road on a rising ground. The coins found there extend from Claudius to Tetricus.^d In a visit to the spot during the present month, I perceived numerous fragments of pottery strewed about, and, in an adjoining field, noticed pieces of Roman tiles; a clear indication of buildings having existed in the immediate vicinity.^e

ORE, OR OARE.

The village of Oare is situate on the edge of marshy ground on a steep ascent, and is bounded on the north by the Swale, and on the south and west by a creek navigable up to the foot of the village, and which, running north-east about half a mile, joins the Feversham creek. It is separated from the village of Davington by the marsh.

In 1838 an extensive range of urns was found in a field (like the one at Strood, named Church-field) at about twenty yards distant from, and parallel with, the high road leading to the ferry to the Isle of Sheppy.

Mr. Amos, the tenant of the property, informs me, that during an excavation for gravel, as many vases and urns were found as would have filled a cart; but his men, attaching no interest to the circumstance, broke the greater number and carted them away with the gravel. At last his attention was attracted by their singular shape and perfect condition, and he gave orders for such as might yet be dug up to be preserved. In consequence, some specimens have been procured for the museum at Canterbury, and others have got into the possession of private individuals.

^d Among them is one of the Gaulish or British type frequently found in Kent, reading IPPI. COM. Rev. an eagle. It closely resembles a specimen found on the hill above Kit's Coty House with Roman coins. Num. Chron. vol. i. p. 84. The coins, &c. are in the possession of Mr. Lake of Bapchild.

^e This is known by the name of Gravel-pit field. Mr. Lake has recently obtained from the field a perfect patera in red ware, inscribed REGILIVS. P.

With every large jar was placed a smaller one standing in a patera, and they were in all instances arranged in groups of three, four, or five. The larger ones, of the capacity of from one to three gallons, were invariably half filled with human bones. Skeletons were also found here and there, one of which was in perfect preservation. The extent of the remains has not yet been ascertained, for, the gravel not being very saleable, the digging was soon discontinued.

Such of the urns and jars as I have seen are of good work, and among them are a very considerable number of the cups termed Samian; and fragments of the rarer figured kind were among them.

The following potters' inscriptions occur:

CRVCVRO . FEC. MARTIALIS. L. TER . SECVN. RVFFI. M.

Such a discovery, in a locality not before, as far as I can learn, recorded as productive of Roman antiquities, would, even as an isolated fact, have been interesting, but, connected as it is with other evidences, it acquires additional importance.

In Jacob's "History of Feversham,"¹ mention is made of a similar disinterment having been made on the northern boundaries of Davington, which, as I before observed, is separated from Oare by a marsh, and likewise stands on an eminence. It is also stated that coins were found ranging from Vespasian to Gratian.

We perceive that these two burial-places have now been authenticated as existing at a short distance from each other, and of a sufficient magnitude for us to decide that the neighbourhood must have maintained a considerable population for a long period of time. The vicinity of the Oare deposit to the church (which certainly dates anterior to the Conquest), and the like relation occurring at Davington, are collateral testimonies of the ancient importance of these places, and presumptive evidence that the ground in both cases had been very remotely consecrated, and probably by ^{ancient} rites, before superseded by Christian worship.

In examining the positions of Davington and Oare, we cannot fail being struck with the natural advantages they possess, the inducements they would thus offer to the Romans for a station intermediate between Durover-

num and Durobrovis, both to connect the chain of communication with these towns, and also to maintain a line of intercourse by water with Sheppy and Regulbium into the interior of Kent. Nature had already provided such bulwarks that the aid of art would be but little required to retain them. The ascent to the square platform of Davington is on the north-west and south-west almost precipitous, while on the east the occupancy of Oare would secure the station from any surprise or attack from the coast.

Keeping these facts in view, let us now refer to the Itinerary of Antoninus.

We find the station placed between Durovernum and Durobrovis is Durolevum. But the opinions of antiquaries and topographers, too often formed upon partial and inconclusive evidence, or advanced to favour some preconceived notion or theory, are here irreconcilable. At least five different places have been assigned as the site of Durolevum, four of which must be wrong, and I think the fifth *may* be. Milton, Newington, Sittingbourn, Stone Chapel, and Lenham (on the Maidstone road) have been chiefly selected, but apparently without any attention to the distances as they actually stand in the Itinerary of Antoninus, or to the features of the country in accordance with etymology.

Though the places enumerated are severally supported by Casaubon, Battley, Gale, Stukeley, Horsley, and others of our most eminent writers, I cannot find they have claims beyond those derived from the mere discovery of antiquities in their vicinities.

Lenham appears to have been advanced solely from its analogy to the two last syllables of the word, which has in some instances been written *Duro-^{lenum}*; on which Horsley remarks: "Some write it *Duro-^{lenum}*, but I know not well by what authority; nor for what reason, unless to make ^{it} like Lenham on the river Len, where it has been generally placed."

In many in-

stances, in order to make the distances of Antoninus agree with the sites proposed, transposition of numbers has been resorted to; a course seldom justifiable, and in this instance certainly not expedient.

§ *Britannia* . . . ana, p. 425.

It will be needless for me to bring forward the arguments of the writers alluded to, after stating the distances as they actually stand in this Itinerary without transposition. They are,

(From) Durovernum (Canterbury) to Durolevum M.P. XII. (From) Durolevum to Durobrovis (Rochester) M.P. XVI.

It is apparent then, upon examining the map, that this station, according to Antoninus, could only be in the neighbourhood of Feversham, on or about the villages of Davington and Oare, and this authority is supported by every requisite evidence. Not only is it corroborated by authenticated discoveries of antiquities and by distance, but also by the accordance of the locality with the ancient name.

It will be perceived that the British word *DVR*, water, gives the distinctive or generic stamp to four consecutive stations, all decidedly connected with water, namely, *DV-BRIS*, *DVRO-VERNVM*, *DVRO-LEVVM*, and *DVRO-BROVIS*; and in no one instance does it appear, that a station, the name of which comes under this class, is unassociated with this element. At Davington and Oare, water is one of the most distinguishing natural features. Horsley, who perhaps fixed Durolevum at Milton for this very reason, seems to have done so reluctantly, and with misgivings of judgment, for he hesitatingly says, "*if* the transposition of the numbers (of Antoninus) be admitted, the situation on a branch of the river, and the distance, would rather lead him to Milton." And he concludes: "If the excursion and station should be supposed about Feversham, we need *not* suppose *any* transposition of numbers." ^h

UPCHURCH.

The specimens of Roman urns which I have the pleasure of laying before the Society, were found, together with many others (of the more remarkable of which I am, by the courtesy of the Rev. J. Woodruffe, enabled to exhibit drawings), imbedded in a creek, which runs in a sinuous course from the Medway up to the western boundary of the long and straggling village of Upchurch, and also forms the limits of the parish on the south-west side.

The marsh, through which this creek makes its way, is about a quarter

^h Page 425.

of a mile in a direct line from the church, which stands on an eminence opposite the part where the vases are found. But the marsh is so intersected with dykes and creeks, branching from the main one, that the village and church cannot be approached but by a circuitous route round the banks, making the distance almost a mile.

The urns are obtained only at low water; and their position in the blue clay forming the bed of the creek, is ascertained by thrusting a stick, or (what is better) a sword-stick, into the mud to the depth of from three to four feet. When the stick meets a repelling substance it is sure to indicate the presence of an urn of some kind, which has then to be carefully extricated by digging to a considerable extent around it.

These vases are found in the creek at intervals for at least one hundred yards, and also on the borders of the branch creeks, and the little cliff of the main creek on the Upchurch side, opposite to the spot that particularly abounds in pottery, at low water plainly shows, by a long line of fragments about three feet below the surface, that these remains extend some distance into the marsh.

The number of vases and urns originally buried here must have been very great, for more than a century ago Battley procured them from this very creek, and, what is rather singular, adduces them in support of his hypothesis of the adjoining village of Newington being the site of Durolevum. He writes, "*Cernitis nigricantes illas urnas atque vasa; ea in villa Newingtonæ proximâ eruta sunt, in agro, ut puto, figulino, non sepulchrali; quoniam urnæ et vacuæ, et inversæ, et nullo ordine positæ, repertæ sunt; idque in solo palustri non arenoso; imo una vel altera, si recte memini, in ipso vicini fluvii alveo demersæ.*"ⁱ

Hasted, in his "*History of Kent*," too readily discredits Battley's statement, when he says, "I can find no trace, or even probability, of their having been found in that parish."^k

Throughout the Upchurch marshes, these urns and vases are continually met with precisely as described by Battley, and I have also ascertained that they abound in equal numbers and of like character, at a distance of

ⁱ *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, cap. 61.

^k Vol. ii. p. 561.

two miles from Upchurch, in the creeks and marshes between Standgate Creek and Lower Halstow.

In a district in these latter marshes known by the name of Slay Hills, the soil seems impregnated with broken pottery. At low water the fragments may be discerned in the beds of the creeks, and in the banks also: in particular localities, they may be recognised lying in strata mixed with lumps of half-burnt clay. Perfect vases are also found frequently both in the marsh land and embedded in mud in the creeks.

The pottery abounding in these marshes from Upchurch to Slay Hills is of the kind usually termed Romano-British, although most of the examples are equally common to France and Germany. It comprises almost all known varieties of this species of earthen ware; the characteristic colours are grey, slate-colour, brown and black; some are ornamented with wavy lines, zigzags, scrolls, and raised points grouped into squares, circles, and diamond patterns; the shapes of the vessels seem to include every variety that utility and taste could design.

Due consideration of the facts detailed will, I think, warrant us in concluding, that this territory was the site of extensive Roman potteries, probably established at an early period, and worked until the abandonment of Britain by the Romans. The clay of the district is peculiarly fine and tenacious, and, but for the encroachments of the sea, may still be made valuable to the potter. The situation of the works along the banks of the Medway admitted for the manufactured wares easy conveyance by water to other parts of Britain.

The extended strata of broken pieces mixed with dross of the kiln, may be indicative of a change of locality by the potters for a better supply of clay in the immediate vicinity, while the numbers of perfect specimens remaining may be attributed to the sudden withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, or to the invasion of the Saxons; in either case, the potteries might have been precipitately left, and their products neglected; or again, many of the urns might have been thrown aside from time to time by the artisans, on account of blemishes or bad burning.¹

¹ The fine red were termed Samian, with good reason supposed to have been imported into Britain, is only occasionally discovered in these marshes. A patera, 11 inches in dia-

The inroad of the sea for many centuries has quite transformed the character of the low-lands in this part of Kent, and even within the memory of man, has rendered a vast tract of rich pasture land comparatively useless.

Some vestiges of the dwellings of the workers of these potteries are probably indicated by stones and tiles in parts contiguous to the Slay Hills. More extensive remains of buildings are observable on the site of the church at Lower Halstow, a small village at the top of Standgate Creek.

On the sides of the church, facing the creek, an embankment has been thrown up in former times, which in parts has been washed down by the water. This defence has been constructed almost entirely out of the debris of Roman buildings, and fragments of house and flue tiles and pottery strew the shores; similar remains are also to be traced about two hundred yards to the east of the church, but confined to a small space of ground. In the arable fields to the west of the church, sepulchral remains are frequently found. The church of Lower Halstow, a small plain edifice, exhibits vast quantities of Roman tiles in the walls, which have evidently been previously used in buildings, as in many instances the original mortar adheres to the tiles, and masses of Roman masonry, as torn from their primitive place, are visible in particular parts of the walls.

Records of the discoveries detailed in this communication, I trust will be considered as not unworthy the notice of the Society; they add considerably to our topographical knowledge of Kent, and contribute to confirm evidences of its civilization and populousness under the Roman rule.

I am, dear Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

meter, with the potter's name, COCCVS. F. in the centre, is preserved at the inn at Upchurch, and a smaller variety marked OF. CATVI. is in the possession of the Rev. J. Woodruffe, in whose collection is another of the same maker inscribed CATVS. F. found in a field south-west of Upchurch in a funereal deposit. The only coins noticed as having been found in the marshes are two in middle brass, one of which is of Julia Mamæa; rev. Vesta; the other, illegible.

XVII. *Description of an ancient Temple near Crendi, Malta. In a Letter from J. G. VANCE, Esq. to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 19th November 1840.

SIR,

Palace, Valetta, April 2, 1840.

HAVING at the request of his Excellency Sir Henry Bouverie undertaken the superintendence of the excavations near Casel Crendi in this island, he has suggested to me that a short description of them, illustrative of the ground plan, taken for him by Mr. Foulis of the 59th Regiment, might be an acceptable present to the Society of Antiquaries. I have therefore taken the liberty of forwarding it to you, accompanied by a lithograph of the images.

I have the honour to be,

Yours, &c. &c.

J. G. VANCE.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. K.H., F.R.S.
Secretary.

THE remains of ancient architecture lately excavated at the expense of the local Government, are situated on the south-eastern coast of the island, exactly opposite the small island of Filfla, about one mile and a half from the village of Crendi, and six from the city of Valetta. The assemblage of huge perpendicular stones which still remain unshaken in their original position, have for some time been objects of peculiar attention, and have not failed to awaken that degree of interest and curiosity which the mind is wont to be affected with, when contemplating the relics of antiquity, and investigating the manners of a people who lived in an age of darkness and super-

stition. The eminence on which the building stands, is up to this day called by the natives "Haggiar Chim," or the Stone of Veneration: but whether this name has been handed down to our times through a long posterity, or whether it is of a more recent date, we have no authority for stating: neither the memory of man, or the pen of the historian, furnish any information on the subject.

On observing, from a little distance, that side of the edifice which is furthest removed from the sea, and consequently the most perfect, its original exterior form is easily recognised; and it is not improbable, that in addition to the circle of stupendous stones which immediately surround the sacred area, there was an outer one of smaller dimensions, which embraced the whole, including the detached group of chambers on the north-western boundary. On a close examination of the environs, we cannot avoid remarking the number of well proportioned blocks which are scattered about in different directions; some lying in heaps, others singly, according to their bulk, yet evidently unconnected with the main structure. Although it would be difficult to ascertain with any certainty their original purpose, I think there are just grounds for presuming that they must have once formed the component parts of certain rude dwellings; places which have long since fallen a prey to the ravages of time. The distance of this barren and bleak situation from any casal, or place of shelter, make it evident that the people by whom the worship was conducted must have lived on the spot, or at any rate have possessed some covered habitation to screen them from the violence of the wind, and the bitter effects of a storm on so exposed a coast. Indeed I do not hesitate in pronouncing with a good deal of confidence, that a village of considerable extent at one period occupied this site. We were much disappointed at finding no inscription or coin which could in any way tend to elucidate the age in which this monument was erected, or even transmit to our times the names of its founders. Consequently it has occasioned much speculation: some people have conjectured that it was constructed at two different periods, grounding their supposition partly on the dissimilarity of appearance between the exterior of the building, which is of the rudest imaginable description, and the interior, which has a certain uniformity in its system, though not sufficiently decisive to denote its parti-

cular order; partly on the difference of shape and quality between the altar standing in "No. 2" chamber, and those at the entrance of "No. 4." But if we consider that the object of the outer circle of rough unhewn stones was merely to act as a defence to the interior: to keep together, as it were, the more important range; that it was a method peculiar to the ancients to throw up large masses of stone around their most revered spots, without regard either to their symmetry or workmanship, we need not feel surprised if the exterior does not partake of the same features as the interior: if the one does not coincide in point of grandeur or magnificence with the other. The dissimilarity between the altars is likewise easily accounted for. On looking down into the body of the Temple from one of the high stones, the eye immediately perceives that it is chiefly divided into two ovular sets of apartments, having communication with each other by means of passages. On a closer examination we find that nearly all the walls on the northern division bear evident marks of the action of fire, some of them, indeed, being quite rotten and having the red appearance of brick, whereas those on the southern portion are perfectly firm and untarnished. In the northern division a great quantity of burnt charcoal and ashes was buried, more especially in "No. 12" chamber, which seems to me to have been separated for the purpose of supplying fire. The southern division exhibited no signs of fire; but contained nine images, (five of which were lying near the foot of the altar, and four in the semicircular chamber adjoining,) also many fragments of very ancient pottery in the shape of bowls, small jugs, lamps, and other utensils.

From the foregoing remarks it is, I think, obvious that a kind of service was performed in the one part different from that in the other: each had an altar adapted for its peculiar ceremonies. The two rudely cut tablets, which are of a hard species of stone, received the sacrifice; the victim being very likely tied through the holes cut in the pedestal; whereas on the neatly executed altar, which is ornamented, the idols or objects of their veneration were placed and adored, subsequently or previous to the propitiation of the gods by sacrifice in the other part of the building. The one division might perhaps have been appropriated to the worship of the natural gods or imaginary spirits, who being of earthly origin were to be

appeased by the sacrifice of animals: the other to the veneration of the celestial, who were alone to be adored by hymns and praises, the involuntary ebullitions of an upright and honest mind.

Some people have perceived a resemblance between these remains and those excavated at Gozo some years ago, and have on that account classified them under the general term "Cyclopian." I shall prove nothing by drawing a strict comparison between them, as little being known with regard to the origin and uses of the one as of the other; I shall merely say, that, however much the rough outside may correspond, the plan pursued in the interior arrangement is widely different; add to which, the style of pottery found at Gozo does not lay claim to so ancient a stamp as that at Crendi. I am willing to allow that they may have been constructed by the same people, or by a branch of them, but decidedly not at the same era. There is a tradition, to which I am inclined to attach but little credit, that an enormous stone, of similar form and size with that marked "F" in the plan, formerly stood by the side of it; but being marked with hieroglyphics it was broken up and taken away by the natives as a matter of curiosity. It is quite clear that the situation in which it is reported to have been fixed, would not admit of such a mass without interfering with the angular-shaped stone which was supported in the inside by a pillar, and evidently not intended to be concealed from the view.

On examining the bones which during the process of excavation were dug up in great quantities amongst the rubbish, we were led to suppose that the victims offered generally consisted of small animals, such as sheep, lambs, or even birds: there are, nevertheless, some which belong to a larger species of carnivorous quadruped, as also a few human remains; from which we may infer that the life of man was on peculiar occasions required to form a part in a mysterious and barbarous ceremony.

After having mentioned the few conjectures offered by others respecting this very curious relic of antiquity, and having shown certain reasons why they appear to be untenable; it may be expected that I should hazard some theory of my own concerning its origin, uses, and appropriation. I do not for a moment hesitate in pronouncing its extreme age. The appearance of the remaining high stones, which are in most cases almost eaten through

and worn away at the top by the action of the wind and weather, would of themselves warrant this assertion. But it is not on this alone that I am inclined to build my arguments. The lapse of two, three, or more centuries might effect that change on their summits on so exposed and elevated a situation. It is very certain that the earliest monuments of which we have any record, were composed of large stones standing perpendicularly out of the ground in circular arrangement: such is more or less the form of those remains at Avebury and Stonehenge in Wiltshire, Carnac in France, and many others, the uses of which have never with any certainty been ascertained. It is in this respect that they all bear some resemblance to each other. The interior arrangement therefore, the style of the altars, and other appendages to a place of worship, which we may chance to meet with in excavating, are the only guides by which we may hope to unravel their history. Happily there are two or three characteristics in this Temple which hold forth some assistance in forming an opinion respecting it. I can compare it with no other remains that I have ever seen or read of: I consider it to be quite unique and dissimilar to any discovery hitherto treated of.

The seven large images, which are made of the soft limestone of the island, although somewhat different in size and shape, all partake of the same character; representing the body of a stout female in a sitting position, and are, I conceive, significative of abundance and comfort. None of them can at present boast of any head-piece; in the necks of two or three a small cavity is discernible, in which it is evident that a head of some metallic or other substance was fixed by means of pins or rivets passing through the breast, and perhaps changed according to the innumerable forms under which a polytheistic people might wish to picture their imaginary deities or mythological heroes. They bear a very strong resemblance to the several figures under which the Hindoos represent the various attributes of the chief god Vishnu, or his principal emanations. In those chambers which contained charcoal, or otherwise showed proofs of the use of fire, we generally found a round stone about one foot in height, and half a foot in diameter, with a hole drilled through the centre, decreasing gradually and slightly as it approached the bottom. That these occupied some place either directly or indirectly in a mysterious worship, is, I think, unquestionable;

and although it has puzzled many antiquaries and others who have been induced to offer speculations on these ruins, to assign any use to them, or identify them with any other symbol employed by the ancients, I do not conceive that it requires any stretch of the imagination to assimilate them to the "Chakru," or Gnoit, recognised by the old Egyptians and Hindoos of the present day, as an inspired vessel by means of which their fabled Vishnu is supposed to elicit the holy flames.

The plans of the doorways in that part of the building which I have conjectured to have been entirely devoted to the vocal adoration of the deities, are somewhat peculiar and claim a remark. The one is about three feet eleven inches high, by about two feet one inch wide; the other four feet four inches, by about two feet eleven wide, of a sufficient size to admit of a man's passing comfortably through with a moderate inclination of head and back. They are cut out of the centre of a large block; on each side of the aperture two holes are bored in a slanting direction and meet each other, apparently for the purpose of running ropes through as hinges or fastenings to the doors. Specimens of this kind of doorway are, I believe, not uncommon in many of the temples now extant in the East Indies.

It is very clear that no part of the building was ever roofed in, with the exception of the three recesses in "No. 3 chamber," each of which seems to have been covered with a single stone, but which are now in every instance cracked near the centre by the weight of the masses of broken pillars which rested on them.

In contemplating these ruins many circumstances present themselves to notice, which induce me to believe that the spot was appropriated to the worship of the heavenly bodies. About a quarter of a mile distant from this site, rather in a hollow than on an eminence, we are enabled to trace the lines of another temple, apparently of a similar form and size with this which I am now describing, previous to its excavation. It was not an uncommon practice amongst those nations who paid homage to the sun, moon, and stars, to dedicate separate temples to each of the two great luminaries, of a like form and contiguous. The most lofty stone, which is raised on the eastern side of the edifice, serves also to strengthen the idea

that I have conceived. On climbing up to the summit of it, a difficulty easily counterbalanced by availing oneself of the notches cut on either side, (without doubt originally intended for the same purpose, inasmuch as they are rounded off at the edges by frequent use, and present rather a polished surface,) we arrive at a small bowl or trough excavated to the depth of about eight inches, not unlike, either in form or workmanship, to that lying at the entrance at the outside of No. 1 chamber, which, by some oversight, is not given in the plan. Its appearance is however rather singular, and deserves our notice, the inside being rendered quite white by the action of the sun's rays on some fluid poured therein. It is a well-known fact, that the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies was universally performed in the open air, and in the most elevated situations, partly from the conviction that it was impious to confine those all-seeing powers, who had the whole expanse of the world as their habitation, within the narrow limits of a temple; partly from the notion that the eye could thence embrace a wider scope and take better observations of them; and partly from the desire of being as near as possible to the visible objects of their veneration, who would on that account be more inclined to mix with them and receive their offerings. It is then, I think, quite within the bounds of probability to suppose that this stone was raised for the purpose of tracing with greater accuracy the motions of the different planets, and also to contain the libations which were more or less acceptable and efficacious in proportion to the distance at which they were removed from the earth,—the grosser and more impure part of the creation.

I shall here say a few words on the stone which stands in a line with, and about a foot from, the altar in No. 2 chamber. It is of an oblong form supported by two narrow stones, the front of which is, like itself, ornamented with dots. At the upper end of this slab a ledge projects to the distance of about one inch and a half, and bears under its centre an oval ornament very like the lower section of an egg or lemon: from the top of which a line in relief curves gradually inwards, then outwards, growing narrower towards the end, and giving one the idea of a coiled spring, or serpent.

There can be no doubt that this decoration was designed to symbolize either the sun or moon, as being the two great causes of nutrition and gene-

ration, or the whole globe of the earth in its widest extent. The egg by itself was employed to represent the great mother of the creation when associated with the serpent, to typify that zodiacal circle in which the father of all Pagan mythology described his everlasting revolutions.

It is to the Phœnicians that I am inclined to attribute the erection of this monument. The device of the palm-tree, which forms the chief feature and ornament on each side of the altar, is the first argument that I shall bring forward in proof of this assertion. This circumstance at once gave me a strong hint, and opened a path to the solution of a difficulty which might perhaps have otherwise remained for ever unexplained. Is it not natural to suppose that a people partial to their own country, although migratory and obliged to quit it for commercial pursuits, should continue to worship the gods of their ancestors, and at the same time testify their recollection of it by representing on their altar, and perhaps adoring, the peculiar plant in which their native soil abounded, and from which their forefathers derived their very names?

I have hitherto purposely omitted making any mention of the two remaining images, which are exceptions to the description given of the other seven with respect to the material of which they are formed. They are cast in "terra cotta," well polished and of a reddish fleshy colour. The one is, like the others, remarkable for the exaggerated proportions of its limbs and body, differing only in size and the posture in which it lies. The second is a naked upright figure, alike headless, but of a beautiful shape and admirably executed. The breasts are rather large and hanging, resembling those of a matron in her natural state. The one is supported by the left arm, which is placed across the bottom of the chest; the other rests slightly in the hollow of the right in the inside of the elbow, the hand of which gracefully protects that part which characterises the sex. I conceive this to be the symbol of the "Venus Urania," the goddess universally adored by the Phœnicians, who were assuredly the first who invented her fabulous history, and to the casts of which I have but little doubt that the famous "Venus de Medicis" is indebted for its origin. The Phœnicians, if not the first, were certainly very early settlers in Malta. This has been proved by many authors, as also by the learned Bochart,

who believes them to have been the same as the Phœnicians mentioned in Homer.

In addition to many quotations which it would be needless for me to recall to memory, this island still boasts of many coins and inscriptions, amongst which two medals preserved in the University Library claim a pre-eminent place, as evidence that this people for a considerable time retained a firm footing on this rock. I do not hesitate in pronouncing that their manners and customs during their dominion differed but little, if at all, from those of their brethren the Egyptians. The case of a Mummy taken from a tomb in the Bingenna mountains, resembling both in shape and size those found in Egypt; and more particularly the figure of a woman carrying a child in each arm, which is sculptured on the stone peculiar to this island, and covered with hieroglyphics, will, if not prove, go very far to establish this point. These specimens are also to be seen in the University Library; and there are many others which I could adduce in confirmation of my assertion if necessary; but these are sufficient for my purpose. Such being the case, we may also be assured that their religious ceremonies partook of some of the same peculiarities. This being granted, I shall labour under no difficulty in working out the remainder of my theory, by accounting for the curious shape and appearance of the images which I have before stated to resemble the different representations of "Vishnu," or his descendants, under their various denominations.

Many points of similarity between the religious system of the ancient Egyptians and Hindoos have been already recognised; too many, indeed, and too forcible to admit of a doubt of the intercourse which at one period must have existed between them. The affinity between their language, their doctrine with regard to the soul, namely, its independent action, its transmigration into other bodies after death, their contempt for corporeal substance, in contradistinction to their respect for spiritual essence, their veneration for their peculiar rivers, in the one case the Nile, in the other the Ganges, the corresponding conical form of the pagodas and pyramids, the adoration of the cow, and finally, the very exact form of several of their respective deities, are too well authenticated for dispute.

Since then we have ascertained that the manners, customs, and religious rites practised by the Egyptians resembled those of the Hindoos, and the Phœnicians those of the Egyptians, we may also infer that the Phœnicians resembled those of the Hindoos. All these were equally addicted to the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies, to whom they sacrificed and paid homage under innumerable forms of gods and goddesses.

Whether this Temple has gradually fallen into decay, whether it was purposely filled up by the Phœnicians previous to their departure from the island, or whether it was desecrated by their successors who were of a different religious persuasion, must ever be enveloped in mystery. If I might venture an opinion, I should say that its dissolution was natural. The thin loam in which it was buried seems rather to be the accumulation of ages than earth brought for such a design. The heads of the idols I consider to have been broken off by their original possessors, with a view of preserving their worship in other countries.

I have thus given a condensed, but it is to be hoped a clear account of the peculiarities belonging to this edifice, and although the speculations which I have advanced may be considered fanciful and fallacious, they cannot extenuate the interest which this curious and extraordinary relic of antiquity must engender. The mind will involuntarily pass over centuries, and hurry back to those ages of ignorance, when this dreary spot was illuminated with sacred fire: when their altars were warm with blood, and the voices of a devoted people were fervently engaged in extolling the praises of those deities through whose medium they supposed that the government of the world was conducted. I shall merely say in conclusion, that wherever we discover the oval shape predominate in an ancient temple, encompassed by circles of stone, that, far from being the work of Cyclopians, as derived from "*Κύκλος*," or any other fabled race of giants, they are simply significative of the rotundity of the heavenly bodies, or of the egg, on which the whole system of ancient religion was based.

By referring to the Ground Plan, drawn with great accuracy by Mr. Foulis, it will be easy to comprehend the present form of the Temple; but as I have not given the dimensions of the chief stones, I shall proceed to

make a few remarks on each chamber, with a view of illustrating it, and making what I have already said more clear.

See the PLATES, XXIII. to XXVIII.

No. 1. Is a narrow apartment about 18 feet long and 2 wide; standing on the right-hand side of the entrance passage which runs through the body of the building.

No. 2. Is an oval chamber 43 feet 6 inches long, by 18 wide. It has two partition walls; the one 12 feet 6 from the east: the other 10 from the west end. Near the north-west corner of the centre division the altar is placed. It is composed of a single stone 12 feet 4 inches high. It has a flat circular top $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, resting on a square pedestal. The four wide grooves, into which the circumference of this altar is shaped, bear each a basso-relievo sculpture of a palm-tree springing out of its base. In the south-west corner of this chamber facing the altar there is a flat slab, in which a little further back than the centre a conical hole is cut, about 10 or 12 inches in depth. This was doubtless connected in some way with the service of the altar, but for what purpose I can form no idea, except that of containing a libation. The average height of this chamber is at present about 7 feet.

No. 3. Is 65 feet 6 inches long, about 13 or 14 wide. Near the centre of the north side are two stone tablets standing on each side of the passage leading into No. 4. At the east and widest end of this chamber, an apartment, which sinks a foot lower into the floor than the rest of the chamber, is partitioned off and surrounded by 13 or 14 thin stones of the average height of 3 feet 2 inches. The large stones on the south side of this chamber average 10 feet 3 in height. Those on the north side about 7 feet 6. On the south side of this chamber there are two recesses extending from the passage entering No. 2, to that entering No. 8. The first is 11 feet 6; the second 9 feet 4 across the entrance. Opposite this last there is a third recess, similar to the others, with the exception of being roofed with a stone of greater thickness.

No. 4. Is 11 feet long by 6. Near the south-west corner is a small recess

covered by a thin flat stone. In this chamber a number of stone hemispheres were lying, measuring about 5 inches in diameter, and an oval figure of the same material, twice the size of a hen's egg.

No. 5. The adjoining chamber is 6 feet 6 long, by 5 feet 6 wide, containing a table 3 feet 5 long, 2 feet 3 in diameter, and 2 feet 4 high, resting on a pillar. The action of fire on it has had the effect of making it quite rotten, so much so that it was only by digging with great care that we were enabled to preserve its shape. At the foot of it another altar was lying of similar form, but smaller than the two stone tablets described in No. 3.

No. 6. Is a chamber on the left of the chief entrance, corresponding with No. 1.

No. 7. Is a chamber 10 feet long. The greatest width 6 feet.

No. 8. Is a chamber 31 feet 8 inches long, 15 feet 4, and 17 feet 10 wide. At the north-east of this chamber are four steps, by which we are enabled with ease to descend into No. 3, which is 2 feet 9 inches lower than the floor of No. 8. About three or four feet to the south of this chamber stand the four stones marked A, B, C, D; they are all very rugged and much worn by the weather.

No. 9. Is a triangular chamber, 18 feet long, by 10 feet 6 wide. The height irregular: it averages, however, almost 9 feet. The stones to the south-west are much decayed, and appear to have been formerly considerably higher than they are at present.

No. 10 chamber, is 28 feet 8 inches long, and 23 feet wide; it is in a very imperfect state. There are, nevertheless, two or three things in it worthy of remark. There is a stone at the south-west end having five holes bored in it. The two upper and lower, curved inwards, meet at the depth of about eight inches. They seem to have been for the same purpose as before described, namely, for fixing doors. The centre one, must, I think, have been made with the intention of passing a bar or bolt across to support the door. About eight or ten of the stones, of which this chamber is composed, are perforated by holes about the height of the ring in the manger of an ordinary sized stable; and I do not think it improbable, that animals for

sacrifice or other purposes were kept in this chamber, attached to these holes by ropes or halters.

No. 11. Is a long narrow chamber: it is also in a very imperfect state. About its centre are four large stones which appear to have fallen from No. 12.

No. 12. Is an oval chamber 31 feet long by 12 wide. This is the chamber which I have thought to have been separated for the purpose of supplying fire. The walls and flooring are quite reddened and otherwise damaged by the action of fire. At the north end, is a passage leading to the north boundary. In the slab which forms the flooring, two round holes are cut, similar in shape to that cut in the slab facing the altar. About six feet to the north-west of these there is a third hole of larger dimensions; we likewise observed two more on the outside and to the north of No. 4 chamber.

No. 13. Is an apartment open to the east. It is 16 feet long by 11 wide. An angular stone 2 feet 9 high, and 2 feet 4 wide at top, and 1 foot 6 at the base, stands about five feet from the west end. It is ornamented with dots, and supported by a rude stone pillar, measuring 7 feet in height.

No. 14. Is an apartment 6 feet 6 long, 8 feet 8 high. The stone which divides it from No. 13 is dotted on the side nearest to the angular stone.

E. Is a rough stone, measuring 20 feet from the level of the ground. It is wider at the base than at top.

F. Is the largest and longest stone in the building, measuring 22 feet 2 inches in length, 10 feet 9 inches in height, and 3 feet 7 in thickness.

G. Is eight feet 5 high, 5 feet 6, and 3 feet 6 wide.

The remainder of these ruins consists of four chambers, situated about 100 feet to the north of the main building.

No. 15. Is an oval chamber composed of 18 stones, 1 foot thick and 6 or 7 high. The stone which forms the partition between this and the next chamber is ornamented with dots.

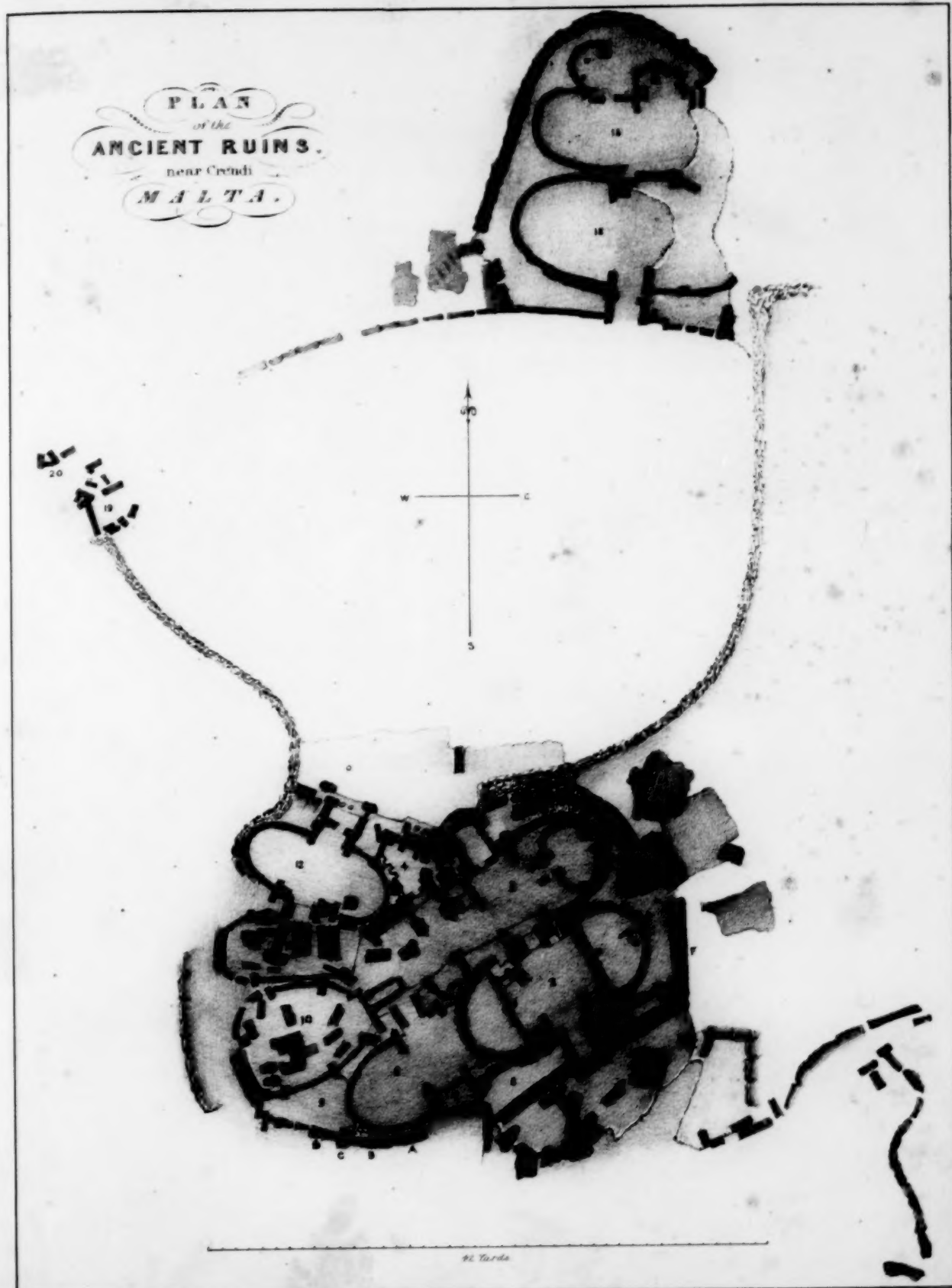
No. 16. Is a chamber 22 feet in length by 15, composed of ten stones, somewhat higher than those around the west end of No. 15.

No. 17. Is a small chamber to the north of No. 16, about 9 feet wide, consisting of six or seven stones in circular arrangement.

No. 18. Is a chamber 10 feet by 9, composed of about six stones, the highest of which are about eight feet.

No. 19 and 20. Are two apartments, composed of 15 or 16 stones, the largest of which is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 5 feet high.

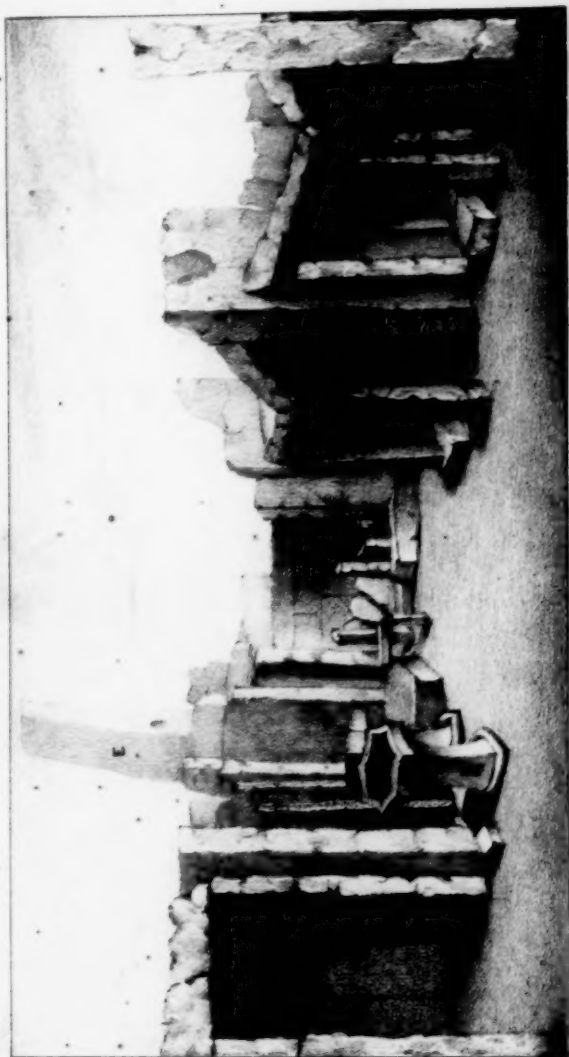
All these chambers are almost on a level with the surface of the ground, and floored with a kind of hard cement.



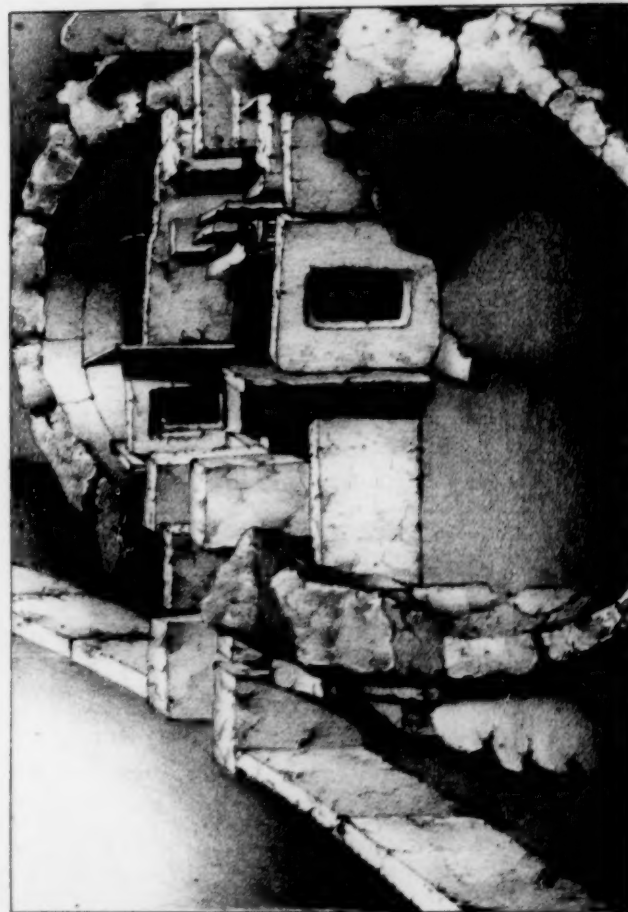
W. P. Smith, Esq. Malta, March 1896

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1897.

J. P. Smith, Esq.



No. 3. Chamber.



View of Nos. 1 and 2 and Part of No. 6 Chamber.



No. 4.

W. Smith 25 1918 Neg. Malta March 1890

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 27th 1912.

J. Baer, litho.



N° 5.



N° 6.



N° 9.



N° 10.

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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1881.

British Museum.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 22nd 1882.

British Museum.



7 and 8



View of the Ruins from West of II Chamber.

Pl. XXV, 27. 4700 ft. 4. 1890. 1890.

Published by the Society of American Archaeologists, April 22nd, 1900.

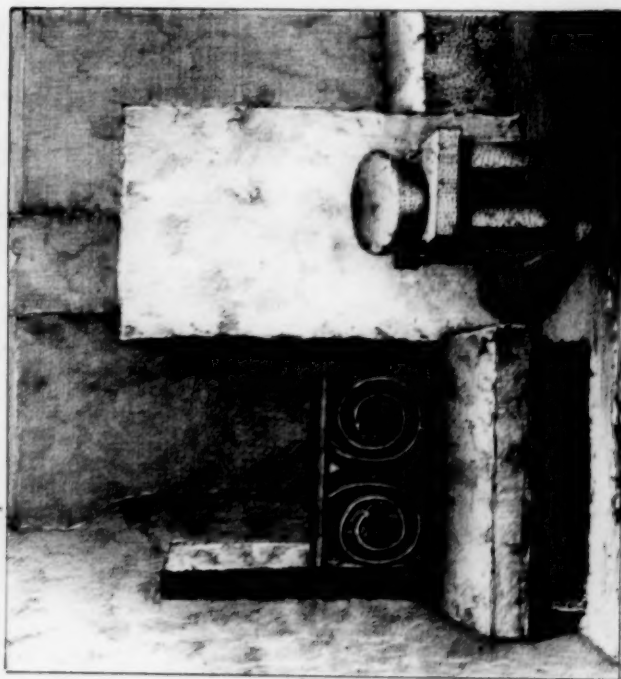
27. 1890. 1890.



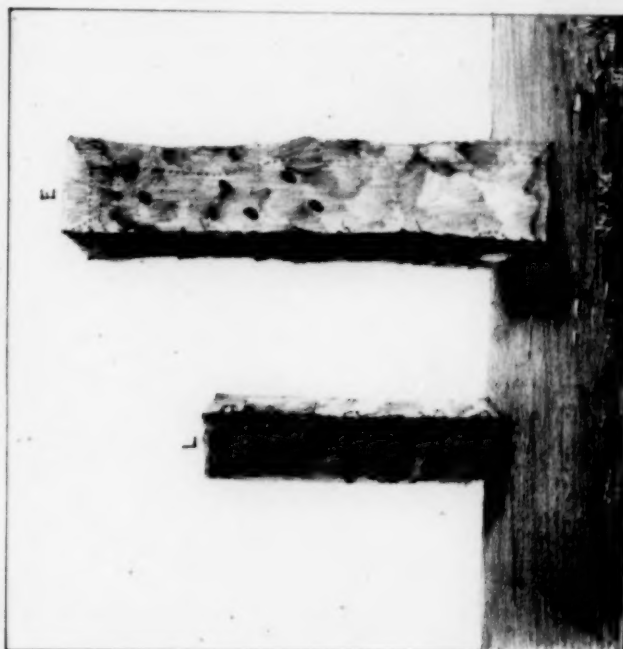
N^o 12.



N^{os} 13 and 14.



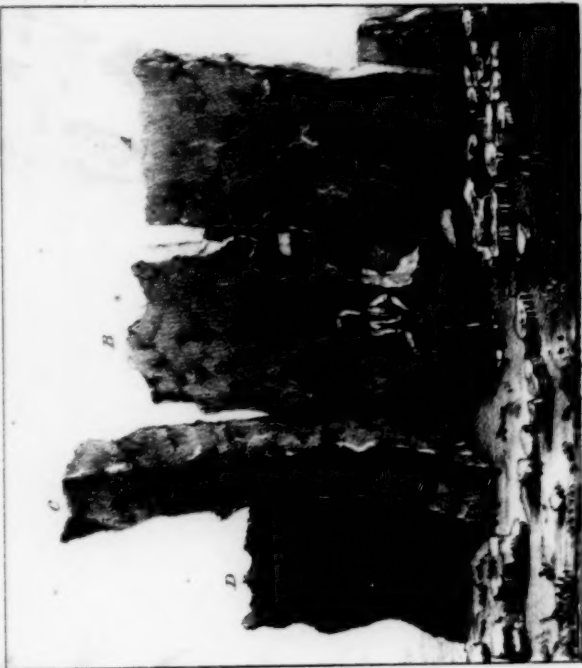
Altar in N^o 2 Chamber.



Section of L and top of E.



Centre Division of No. 2 Chamber



View of A, B, C, and D, from outside.



View from the East of Numbers 15, 16, 17 and 18.

Photographed by the Survey of the Department of the Interior, 1880.

U. S. National Academy of Sciences, 1880.

U. S. National Academy of Sciences, 1880.

XVIII. *Remarks upon some remains of ancient Architecture, disclosed in taking down a portion of the Church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark. By JOHN BUCKLER, Esq., F.S.A.; in a Letter to JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq. Director.*

Read 13th February, 1840.

My DEAR SIR,

Saint Mary, Newington, Surrey,
January 24, 1840.

I BEG to submit to the Society of Antiquaries a sketch of the interior of the west end of the Nave and South Aisle of Saint Mary Overy's Church, Southwark (Plate XXIX.), in compliance with the request which you made in the early part of last year. I will trouble you with only a few remarks upon this ancient and elegant specimen of architecture. It was disclosed to view upon the removal of the masonry by which it had been concealed in the latter part of the fifteenth century, at which period the west doorway and window were inserted. The arches alluded to in a double tier at the west end of the nave, the clustered pillars attached to the same wall, the arches under the windows in the side aisles, the windows themselves in the westernmost compartment of both aisles, and the south porch, are all of the same age. The architectural features in these portions of the church are distinguished from the rest by the general design of the capitals, and the detail of the sculptured ornaments, both of which present a near resemblance to the forms characteristic of late Norman architecture, and may fairly be assigned to the reign of King John. It was owing to an unaccountable deviation from parallel lines in the position of the newer pillars in the nave, that the groined vault in the western portion of the aisles was constructed

in the irregular manner shewn in the drawing. The bases of all the columns were nearly concealed by the pavement. It was observed, upon their being opened, that they had been carefully restored in cement; but the period of this restoration, and of that when the floor was raised, are unknown.

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN BUCKLER.

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

XIX. *Observations on the Site of Camulodunum, in a Letter from the Rev. HENRY JENKINS, B.D., to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 6th May, 1841.

DEAR SIR,

Stanway, April 30, 1841.

THROUGH my friend, Dr. Rowlands, I transmit to you my observations on the site of Camulodunum. My first intention was to have traced the whole of the 9th Iter, but I have been prevented by my professional duties from attempting so much, and have confined my inquiries to my own neighbourhood. To Messrs. Tayspill and Gilbert I am greatly indebted for their kindness in tracing on the Ordnance Map the various roads and places mentioned in the Paper.* The Roman works are marked in *red*, and the British works in *blue*. In addition to what relates to my paper, those gentlemen have also traced, from their own observations, the road leading from Colonia to Mersea Island, at least so much as has come under their notice, and this road they have also marked in red, and the site of the Proprætor's house, and the Roman beacon in Mersea Island. I was afraid to add more notes, lest I should make the paper too tedious; at the same time it was necessary to add some for explanation. And if what I have written meets the approbation of the Society, I shall be amply rewarded.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. JENKINS.

* These have been accommodated to a smaller form in Plate XXX.

ALTHOUGH Julius Cæsar in his second invasion of Britain had more communication with the Trinobantes than any other state, and has given a summary of their affairs, he no where in his Commentaries mentions Camulodunum. We collect, however, from ancient historians, that this town was the capital of the Trinobantes, and situated near the Iceni. Dion Cassius^b styles it the royal seat of Cunobeline, and informs us that the Emperor Claudius made it the primary object of his attack, as soon as he had effected his passage over the Thames. After its capture a Roman station was established there, which, according to Antonine's 9th Iter, was 74 miles distant from Caister in Norfolk, and 52 from London. Through the lapse of ages, the sites both of the British town and the Roman station have been involved in great obscurity, and many conflicting opinions have from time to time been hazarded on the question "Where is Camulodunum?" Some have placed it at Maldon, some at Colchester, and others even at Camerton in the county of Somerset. But amidst all the disquisitions on the subject, no writer has brought forward the plain and satisfactory evidence of the Roman military way to substantiate his particular statement. Neither has the strong authority or bearing of Peutinger's Table been duly estimated. Are then all vestiges of the place obliterated? Is the very shadow of so great a name vanished under a Saxon appellation? It is intended in the present paper to show that such is not the case, and by the concurrent testimony of two authentic, but hitherto unheeded witnesses (the Roman military way and Peutinger's Table) to assign the locality of Camulodunum to Lexden.

In Morant's History of Essex will be found a survey of the numerous earthworks on Lexden heath and its environs as they existed in 1722. Therein are mentioned two Roman roads, a Roman camp, and three long parallel ridges or ramparts extending across the heath. This survey, though very indigested, is yet valuable, because since the recent inclosure of the heath many of those memorials of other days have suffered sad havoc from the spade and the plough. The intrenchments of the camp have fallen be-

^b In all that relates to Britain Tacitus must be considered the best authority. Whether he visited the island himself may perhaps be questioned. That he received an accurate information of many events from his father-in-law, Agricola, there can be little doubt: But that part of his Annals which contained the invasion of Claudius Cæsar is unfortunately lost.

neath their combined attacks, and are becoming yearly less discernible. The two military ways have been broken up at intervals. And of the three parallel ridges the two interior have been nearly levelled; but the exterior one, called in old records, sometimes Gryme's dyke, and sometimes the outward trench of Wyldenhey (*forinsecum fossatum de Wyldenhey*) still retains, though not wholly, its bold and lofty outline, and serves at present as the western boundary of the parish of Lexden. Its direction is marked by fir trees planted along its side and summit, and from the circumstance that rude flint celts are occasionally found near it, the work may be considered British. Its northern extremity once extended beyond the two turnpike roads leading from Colchester to London and Cambridge; in the intermediate space the rampart still partly remains, and close to it a large semi-circular excavation (now planted with fir trees) presents itself. The rampart forms the base, and the rest of the circumference has been thrown down, and converted into arable land. This excavation,^c traditionally called King Coel's kitchen, and by Stukeley "*Regis Coeli culina*," is conjectured by most Antiquaries to have been formerly a British amphitheatre.

From the northern we will next turn to the southern extremity of Gryme's dyke. And here two old military ways (coming one from Lexden, and the other from Colchester) meet and pass on in the same line towards London. With these preliminary observations the following details will be better understood, in which it will be attempted to identify Lexden with the British town Camulodunum, and the Roman station, so called, with the camp on the heath.

That Camulodunum is a British word Latinized no one will question, because it existed as the metropolis of a powerful state before the Roman conquest. And it is worthy of special remark that the honourable title of a Royal seat, by which Dion Cassius designates it, is still retained in the word Lexden. "*Et nunc servat honos sedem*." At the Norman conquest Lex-

^c The field adjoining the excavation is called to this day *Vent* field. Now, *Venta* is the name given to places where the public or general body of the Britons convened or met in their several states.

den was attached to the manor of *Stanway*,^d and under that manor it is thus mentioned in Domesday: "Adhuc pertinet una berewita, quæ vocatur Lessendena." And what is the Norman-Latin term "Lessendena," but the British word Llys-din, which signifies, according to the Welsh Dictionary, "a royal city, *i. e.* where the prince's court is kept." And hence the Roman termination, *Lodunum*.^e

But how is the prefix "Camu" to be solved? There it stands stamped on the coins of Cunobeline, now bearing the impress of a horse, and now of an ear of corn. In the British language the words Cae (pronounced Ca) and mwy, mean the greater inclosure or rampart. And why may not we, in this instance, apply the term to Gryme's dyke, which formerly reached to the river Colne, and would, with the wide sweep of the river round Colchester, comprise not only a great part of the parish of Lexden, but the whole town and town-lands of Colchester, a wide extent of rich and varied ground, adapted both to the growth of corn, and the pasture and breeding of horses. The epithet "mwy," or greater, probably refers to another earthwork which protected the frontier of the Trinobantes above the Stour. Hor-cae, in British, means the boundary fence or rampart, and from such a fence or defence the neighbouring parish of Horkesley, where it is situated, with the Saxon addition of Ley, *i. e.* Hor-cae's-ley, derives its name. And in contradistinction to this, the inhabitants of Camulodunum called the town rampart Cae-mwy-llys-din, *i. e.* the greater rampart of the Royal City.

As the turnpike road, leading from Lexden through Stanway to Coggeshall, has generally, though erroneously, been considered a Roman way, and thereby the true military way of the 9th Iter has been overlooked, it will here be necessary to explain the mistake. This road existed before the in-

^d *Stanway* was a royal manor, belonging to King William, and before the Conquest had belonged to Harold. Lexden, therefore, as annexed to Stanway, had continued to be a royal possession under three successive dynasties, viz. British, Saxon, and Norman. The testimony of the hundred, "Hundredus testantur," so often quoted in Domesday, may also be adduced to vouch for its ancient importance, for from Lexden the hundred takes its name.

^e The change from Llys-din to Lodunum for the sake of euphony is exactly the same as from *Cæsar's-magus* to *Cæsaromagus*.

vasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, and passing through Braintree and Dunmow to Stortford and Verulam joined the Ikeneld Street somewhere in *Hertfordshire*.^f In those days it appears to have been the main commercial thoroughfare of the Trinobantes, by which they held communication with the merchants of Cornwall. On or near it very many of the earliest British coins have been found, and more particularly a considerable quantity at Mark's-Tey in 1807, which correspond in their description with a large number dug up at Carn-brè hill near Redruth in 1740, and indicate as it were the district from which the coins issued. The British names of several of the towns situated on the road attest its antiquity, such as Dunmow, or as it was formerly written Dunmore, *i. e.* Din-mawr—the great town. Braintree, Bran or Brennen-tref—the King's town. Moreover the question may fairly be asked, by what other course but this did *Cassivelaunus* extend his conquests from Verulam, and usurp the sovereignty of the Trinobantes? And nearly a century after, in this very direction, the reflux tide of the Britons poured its fury on *Verulam*.^h Tacitus expressly says that the Britons, after the slaughter of the Veterans at Colonia-Camulodunum avoided the Roman forts and garrisons (or in other words, the military way,) and wreaked their vengeance and love of plunder on the richest and most defenceless places. A great commercial road therefore would offer a peculiar attraction; and either at or in the neighbourhood of Verulam the Britons certainly were, when Suetonius boldly passed through them with an intent to defend London. The whole mistake, under which so many writers have laboured, originated in the name Stanway, which, because it denoted a

^f My own conjecture is, that it joined the Ikeneld Street at Tring. It is well known that the Ikeneld Street traversed Britain from west to east, from Falmouth, in Cornwall, to Yarmouth, in Norfolk. But the various branches which issued from it have never been accurately defined. That branch, however, which connected it with Camulodunum, passed on through Manningtree, *i. e.* Manni-try, the town of the *Manni*, to Harwich, where Dover Court still attests by its name the ancient British post.

^g Vide Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 11.

^h Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 33. Eadem clades Municipio Verulamio fuit; quia barbari, omissis castellis præsidisq. militarium, quod uberrimum spoliandi et defendentibus intutum, læti præda, et aliorum segnes, petebant.

Roman road, they concluded to be the road above mentioned. But it so happens, that another road, the true military way of the 9th Iter, does also run through Stanway. In Domesday, as we before observed, Lexden was a Berewite pertaining to the manor of Stanway. And through the whole extent of the original manor, a distance of more than four miles, the Roman military way may still be easily traced: in some parts, indeed, broken up, but in other parts high and broad as of old. And the part through which the military way passes is called Great Stanway, and the part through which the British road passed, (the same as the modern turnpike road) is called Little Stanway. On comparison it will be found that the military way leading to and from the camp on Lexden heath coincides in a remarkable manner with the line on Peutinger's Table leading to and from the station Camulodunum. And to confirm their identity, two stations with intervening forts are still discoverable, which answer in their respective distance and position on either side to the stations Ad Ansam and Canonium.

With these data we will proceed to demonstrate the camp on Lexden heath to be the station Camulodunum. At the north-west angle of the camp there stood till the late inclosure a mound,ⁱ considerably raised above the contiguous earthworks, and which might have served either for a milliary or a beacon. To the site of this mound we will assign the angle where the figure 5 is placed in Peutinger's Table, and make it the point from which the distances on either side can be reckoned.

We will first follow the military way eastward. In this direction it occupies the northern rampart of the camp, and continues beyond it in a straight line till it meets a deep foss called the hollow way. Here the agger turns at a right angle northward, and brings us to Lexden park, near to the confines of which, in the open field, may still be seen the remains of a beacon appertaining to the camp. Through Lexden park the military way^k passes to the turnpike road (the old British road), over which, as being far

ⁱ Mr. Gilbert has traced a small circle on the map to shew the spot where the mount formerly stood, and above it has placed the figure 5.

^k At this point, where the military way meets the turnpike road, Mr. Morant begins his survey and admeasurement of the earthworks at Lexden. (Vide Morant's History of Essex.)

beneath, it must formerly have passed by a bridge. On the opposite side it enters at the corner of the grounds of John De Horne, Esq. and from thence through the glebe fields (where it was levelled by the late rector), it reached the river Colne. Across the river it again appears, and the farm-house (Lexden Lodge) close by it, is built in a Roman fort. It then ascends the hill in a straight line, till on the brow it meets the public or highway leading from Colchester to West-Bergholt. Beyond this no traces of the military way are immediately discernible, but on the apex of the hill stand the remains of a *Beacon*¹ and a Roman fort. About a furlong to the north-east of the fort the Roman road re-appears at Braiswick Lane, and continues in the lane to Botolph's Brook. Here we again lose it till we come to the bottom of Horkesley causeway, just beyond Black-brook, at a place now called Sprott's Marsh, but in old records and perambulations *Chesterwell*.^m This name betokens not only a villa or fort, but also a camp, to which it appertained. Neither villa nor fort can now be seen; but the camp double trenched, and distant half a mile from the road, still remains in Pitchbury wood. At the top of Horkesley causeway, the whole of which is on the Roman road, two lateral branches diverged according to Peutinger's Table, one eastward and the other westward, thus taking the high ground above the Stour, with extensive views stretching far into Suffolk, once inhabited by the Iceni. Few vestiges, however, of either of these lateral roads can now be satisfactorily ascertained. But the existence of the road eastward is proved by the name of the adjoining farm, called *Ridge-well*, which implies that a villa or fort was there situated, and also that a ridge or rampart ran

¹ This Beacon is marked in the Ordnance Map "*Moat*;" if you draw a straight line from Colchester to the camp in Pitchbury wood, this beacon stands about midway between them, and commands a view of both. From hence also you can clearly see the beacon on the opposite hill adjoining Lexden park.

^m The name occurs in an old perambulation of the liberty of Colchester. "And from thence to Black-brook, under Chesterwell, which brook runs cross the way at the foot of Horkesley causeway, and which Chesterwell was affirmed to be in the lands in Horkesley, pertaining to St. Peter's."

In the terrier of St. Peter's, Colchester, occurs the following description of the land: "Lands called Sprotts and Sprottmarsh, in the parish and fields of Great Horkesleigh."

contiguous to it. The road eastward was probably formed on the old frontier line or intrenchment of the Britons. And there is little doubt that the Roman road westward descended to the Stour at Garnons, or as it is generally pronounced Gardens. The high artificial mound, on which the farmhouse at Garnons is built, formerly protected the passage or ford of the river Stour, and from it the parish of Wormingford, or as it is written in old records Withermundford and Wyremundeford takes its name. On the opposite side of the river the road entered the parish of *Wiston*,ⁿ near the churchyard, and from thence passed onwards to Combretonium or Brettenham.

The top of Horkesley causeway is six miles from the mound on Lexden heath, and exactly corresponds with the spot on Peutinger's Table, where *Ad Ansam* is placed. The preposition *Ad*, however, implies that the station itself was not *on*, but *near* the road. And the appellation *Ansa*, though apparently Roman, is in this instance British. 'Wên-saw' means the old station, and bespeaks a date anterior even to Camulodunum. Now the oval shape of the camp in *Pitchbury* ^o wood, and the position of its gates or en-

ⁿ Babrig is the name of the hundred in Suffolk to which Wiston belongs, and, although opposed to the learned Camden, I cannot but suppose this name to be derived from the *Bibroci* who dwelt here. With greater pleasure, however, do I agree with that father of British antiquaries, in supposing Brettenham in Suffolk, both from its position and its distance from Horkesley, to be Combretonium.

^o In the Ordnance Map it is marked "Pitsbury," and the camp is also delineated. The area contains six acres. Dr. Stukeley deemed it to be the site of a palace of King Cunobeline, but in this supposition surely he must be mistaken. Whatever was its first destination, whether regal or druidical, it afterwards probably became one of the *Præsidia* established in the neighbourhood of Camulodunum, and which the Britons, after their slaughter of the Veterans, avoided attacking. There are strong reasons for supposing that this is the camp into which Petilius Cerialis, with the horse of the ninth legion, escaped. A large mound, in the parish of Wormingford, close to the Decoy, and to the banks of the river Stour, was removed about six years ago, that the earth might be spread over the lower part of the field, and many *hundreds* of urns were then discovered, placed in parallel rows, like streets; this circumstance would lead us to imagine that they were the remains of the infantry of the ninth legion, who were advancing from the Iceni to support their countrymen in their danger, and were cut off by the Britons at the passage of the Stour. Their bodies might have been collected and burnt by the Romans as soon as they had recovered their dominion. And if this supposition is correct, the lofty tumulus close to Mount Bures church, and from which the

trances shew the work to be British; and the Romans, when they occupied it, retained the original name, and called it "Ad Ansam." Its distance from Lexden heath is by the military way about five miles. From the southern ramparts you can clearly see Lexden and Colchester, and far off to the right appear the heights of Haynes Green, where Canonium stands.

We will now return to the mound from whence we started, and follow the military way towards Canonium. In this direction the road leads to the southern extremity of Gryme's dyke, where it meets and unites with the other military way coming from Colchester. On passing Gryme's dyke it turns nearly at a right angle to Stanway Green. Here it takes a course south-west 43, and continues in a straight line to the brook which separates the parishes of Stanway and Birch, at a place called the Baize Mill. On the top of the opposite bank it is again visible, but there the trace is lost. From hence to the church of Great Birch and the adjoining earthwork, called from time immemorial the Castle, may be about two miles. Mr. Morant, in describing the parish of Great Birch, and speaking of the Castle, says, "We take this mount and trench to be a part and continuation of the stupendous Roman works on Lexden heath, which are *easily* traced to this place, and much further." Mr. Morant is certainly right in his conjecture, and supplies a connecting link exactly where it was wanted. For this castle is a Roman fort pertaining to the military way, and still keeping its original name "Castellum." It stands on a rising knoll above a ravine, and although one side only is perfect, its area can be ascertained to have been about fifty yards square. In digging for gravel immediately under the castle a few years since several urns were discovered, and three of the best preserved are now in the possession of Charles G. Round, Esq. M.P. of Birch Hall, the owner of the Castle. When Mr. Morant says the Roman works on Lexden heath could *easily* in his time be traced much further than the Castle, it is to be regretted that he was not more explicit, and that he did not mention the exact course which the road took from the Castle. Most probably it ascended the hill above, and so continued on the crest of the high ground

parish takes its name, was raised by the Britons as a proud trophy of their victory, and also in honour of their companions who had fallen in the battle.

till it reached Haynes Green. As you pass along the top of these heights you have a commanding view on both sides, on the left over the estuary of the Blackwater, and on the right over the plains of Essex. At *Haynes Green*,^p on the confines of Messing and Laver Marney, the northern ramparts of a Roman camp present themselves, four hundred yards in length, and parallel to them, and separated only by a deep and broad foss, runs the Roman road. The ramparts on the three other sides of the camp have been levelled, and are become arable land. A morass extends along the western side, and at the north-west angle is a spring of water, choked with rubbish, and surrounded by brick-work. The position of this camp corresponds so nearly with the line on Peutinger's Table, and the distance from the camp on Lexden heath, eight miles, answers so well, as to induce the supposition that this is the station Canonium.

In the foregoing observations a military way has been shewn to lead to and from the camp on Lexden heath, coinciding in its direction with the line on Peutinger's Table; and two camps have also been pointed out, answering in their respective situations and distances to Canonium and Ad Ansam, and from these concurring circumstances the inference may fairly be drawn that the Lexden camp is the station Camulodunum.

Another proof, if necessary, can be advanced to confirm this conclusion. *Cæsaromagus*, a station common both to the 5th and 9th Iter, is stated in one to be twenty-one miles distant from Camulodunum, and in the other, twenty-four miles from Colonia. Although Peutinger's Table and the Itine.

^p Whoever visits the camp at Haynes Green (having previously read the 34th chapter of the 14th book of the Annals) will be struck with the resemblance it bears to the position taken up by Suetonius before his battle with Boadicea. Such, at least, was the impression made on my friend Mr. Vint and myself when we visited the spot. Two large woods, Pod's Wood and Laver Marney Wood, seem to form the narrow gorge in front of the camp which Tacitus mentions. The persuasion is still further strengthened by the name of the parish Messing, which is *Mæs*, a field of battle, and the Saxon termination Ing, a plain, *i. e.* the plain of the field of battle. Moreover the large farm, situated midway between the village of Messing and the camp on Haynes Green, is called Hareburgh, *i. e.* the station of the army; as if the Britons were assembled there on that occasion. A Saxon word might commemorate an event antecedent to the Saxons. In the Ordnance Map the farm-house is marked *Harbro Hall*.

rary differ one mile in the distance between Canonium and Camulodunum, they both agree in making the distance between Canonium and Cæsaromagus or Baromagus (for they are the same place) to be twelve miles. Now, following for some miles the heights from Haynes Green, we come to the valley of the Chelmer, and on the opposite eminence, at the required distance of twelve miles, stands the noble camp of Danbury: and if from thence we trace back our steps, we find that the camp on Lexden heath is rather more than two miles nearer than Colonia or Colchester.

Should some one here inquire, "What then does Tacitus mean by the expression Colonia-Camulodunum, if these stations were more than two miles apart?" The question can easily be answered. When Tacitus uses the expression, he is not speaking of a fortified station or stations, but of the Colony of Veterans living in scattered houses, chiefly, however, at and around the site of modern Colchester, and occupying the fairest portion of the town-lands of British Camulodunum. For the metropolis of the Trinobantes, before its capture by the Romans, as has been mentioned above, seems to have included the whole spacious area contained within Gryme's dyke, on its open or champaign side, the river Colne on the north and east, and the thick woods of the Donylands, reaching from the river to Gryme's dyke, on the south. By the settlement of the Veterans the Britons were forcibly dispossessed of the best and largest part of this domain, and confined within the limits of modern Lexden. A brief review of the two passages in which the expression Colonia-Camulodunum occurs, will tend to explain this point, and to shew, that two contiguous places are thereby implied. In the first passage the historian observes that Ostorius, the Roman general, was bent on subduing the stubborn Silures; the more readily to effect their subjugation, or, in other words, to prevent any molestation from the Trinobantes and Iceni in the east of Britain, whilst he departed to the west, he settled Colonia-Camulodunum, consisting of a strong body of Veterans, in the conquered lands. "*Id quo promptius veniret, Colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos.*" (Ann. lib. 12, c. 32.) He does not say that the veterans were settled in the town, but in the town-lands. The great bulk of the inhabitants of Camulodunum pro-

bably always resided around the King's court at Lexden, and the high conical mound still remaining in the grounds of Mrs. Papillon at Lexden, may reasonably be considered, from its central and elevated position and the level plain around it, to have been the spot where the Trinobantian princes held their court on solemn occasions. The rest of the spacious area before mentioned, occupied perhaps by farmers, was seized on by the Veterans; and the line of demarkation which subsequently was established between them and the Britons can still be accurately defined. It was formed by the *Roman military way*⁴ passing from the camp on Lexden heath to Ad Ansam. And, as convincing proof that this was the case, the whole space on the eastern or Colonia side of the military way, (including all the lands belonging to the parishes of Colchester,) teems as it were with Roman remains of every description; whilst on the western or Lexden side of the military way, none have ever been discovered.

But to return to Tacitus. Ten years had elapsed before the historian mentions the colonists again. Suetonius Paulinus had then succeeded to the command in Britain, and was engaged with his army at Anglesea. The Iceni, indignant at the wrongs of their Queen Boadicea, seized the opportunity of his absence and rose in arms. The Trinobantes willingly joined them, through their bitter hatred of the Veterans lately settled at Colonia Camulodunum, who were expelling them from their homes, and forcing them from their farms. "Acerrimo^r in veteranos odio, quippe in Coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti, pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris."

⁴ A remarkable instance of this fact occurred when the turnpike road on the ascent of Lexden Hill was widened about sixteen years ago. Below that part where the Roman road crossed by a bridge, the labourers found nothing in removing the earth, but the whole space above was crowded with remains, and amongst the rest some beautiful gold rings were dug up. The most extraordinary relique, however, was the skeleton of a man with his head downwards, and a patera beside him, which was found in the bank, immediately behind the site of the bridge. From the emblem of his office, and the mortal aversion with which the Britons regarded the priests of Claudius, we may almost imagine this skeleton to have been that of a priest, who in his attempt to escape during the insurrection, had been seized by the Britons and buried alive.

^r Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 31.

In describing the circumstances which attended the insurrection, Tacitus expressly mentions Colonia and Camulodunum as two distinct places, the one inhabited principally by the Romans, the other by the Britons, but so near and contiguous as to be within hearing of each other. At Camulodunum there was a general anticipation of triumph and revenge. The *statue of Victory** which had been erected there, was thrown down and reversed, as though yielding to the Britons. And from thence could be heard the shouts of the British chieftains collected in council, and responded to by the populace assembled in their theatre. At Colonia, on the contrary, all was dismay. The Veterans living in detached dwellings, and unprotected by ramparts, had not provided for the emergency, and in the hour of danger the temple of Claudius afforded the only place of refuge. When the storm at length burst, their scattered houses were at once plundered and burnt, their families slaughtered, and the Claudian temple, after two days' resistance, was taken by storm. Neither in this passage, nor elsewhere, does Tacitus give the least intimation that Camulodunum was then destroyed. Whenever he refers to the catastrophe, as he repeatedly does in various parts of his writings, he speaks of the destruction, the overthrow, the burning of Colonia, and Colonia only. As soon as the Romans had recovered their sway by the defeat of the Britons under Boadicea, they built a walled fortress where Colchester now stands, and this station they called Colonia, in memorial of the colony of Veterans; and to the station on Lexden heath they appropriated the name Camulodunum. Henceforth the British town figures no more in history. Every thing at Colchester bespeaks its Roman origin, its walls, its castle the *veritable site of the Claudian temple*,^t "arx æternæ

* Where the military way crosses on the side of Lexden hill from Mrs. Mills' park to the grounds of Mr. De Horne, and precisely at the spot where the skeleton of a man with a patera beside him was found, the most casual observer will perceive that the opposite sides must have been connected by a bridge, under which the old British road (now the turnpike road) passed. This was the great thoroughfare between the Veteran Colonists and the inhabitants of Camulodunum, and separated them in the same manner as Temple Bar divides Fleet-street from the Strand. And on this bridge, as a most public and conspicuous place, probably stood the statue of Victory, which Tacitus mentions.

^t In Mr. Wright's History of Essex, vol. i. p. 315, is the following passage: "Both on
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dominationis," its tesellated pavements, its urns, and its coins. Whilst the rude earthworks at Lexden denote an earlier age. But more characteristic than ancient earthworks, and more durable than bastioned walls, is the name by which the Britons, amidst all their vicissitudes, still fondly cherished the memory of their departed greatness ; and Lexden by its very appellation testifies itself to be the royal residence of the Trinobantian princes, and " το του Κορυβελλισου Βασιλειον."

the north and east sides, the castle precincts were secured by a deep ditch and strong ramparts of earth, now within the gardens of the Rev. James Round. The rampart itself is thrown upon a wall, which formerly encompassed either the castle, or the palace of Coel, on whose site it stands : the buttresses and other parts of this old wall, were discovered nearly a century ago." If for "*the palace of Coel*," we read "*the Temple of Claudius*," Mr. Wright would have been more accurate, and an investigation of the wall beneath the rampart would at once establish the fact that the building is Roman.

XX. *Remarks on an unpublished Inscription to the Emperor Tetricus, found at Bittern, near Southampton : in a Letter from CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 27th May, 1841.

DEAR SIR,

City, May 19, 1841.

DURING a late visit to Bittern, the site of Clausentum, I observed in the garden of the Manor House,^a which (together with a lawn and plantations) now occupies a large part of the Roman station, an inscription to the Emperor Tetricus, which does not appear to have been published.

It is on a hard freestone of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$, and a foot thick; the back rough and unhewn, as if the stone had originally been affixed to some part of a building; the sides somewhat damaged, but the inscription is nearly perfect, as the sketch below will shew.



^a The property of Mrs. Stuart Hall, to whom I am indebted for a most courteous reception on the above occasion.

A very similar but badly preserved inscription has been noticed and engraved by Sir Henry Englefield, in his "Account of Clausentum,"^b where it appears thus:—



and is read, . . AP. CA . . . CAIO. AESVLO. TETRICO. PIO. ET. AUGVSTO.

If this reading of the nomen be correct, it is irreconcilable with that in the inscription I now have the honour to lay before the Society and also with the coins of Tetricus, on which the word PESVVIVS occurs so frequently, though never, as I am aware, with a diphthong, as in the present case.

Sir Henry Englefield observes, in speaking of the earlier discovered inscription, that it "is singular from the name of AESVLVS preceding that of Tetricus, whose family name was Pivesus, or Pesuvius, or Pivesuvius; but neither the father nor son ever appear to have borne a name approaching to Aesulus, and though, from the great variety of spelling the name on different medals, its orthography appears to have been uncertain, yet Aesulus is too far distant from all the readings to render it probable that it was intended for any of them."

This questioned word, as will be perceived by my sketch, is spelt in our inscription, POESVIO or POESVVIO, which, though it slightly differs from the spelling of the words on coins, confirms its identity, while at the same time a comparative examination of the two inscriptions and the evidence of coins, prove that a P in Sir Henry Englefield's inscription has either been omitted by the carelessness of the sculptor, or, more probably, obliterated by time or accident, and that the I has been misread L. The first letter in the first word should of course be an M.

^b Published in "A Walk through Southampton," 1805.

We have on record numerous inscriptions of a dedicatory character which have been at various periods found in different parts of this country, but I am not aware of the existence of any others of this prince, nor of many of the other rivals of the Roman Emperors, who, throughout the third century, successfully assumed and maintained the sovereignty of the provinces of Gaul and Britain. The sway of many of these military chiefs was firmly established, and vanity on their own part, and flattery on that of their subjects, would never be backward in stamping their deeds on all occasions with the insignia of legitimate power and authority. Their coins, the least destructible of their monuments, attest extraordinary alacrity in recording their independence: but inscriptions on stone or marble, such as these of Tetricus, are of the rarest occurrence. Of Carausius and Allectus in particular, whose united possession of Britain lasted nearly ten years, we possess not an isolated instance of a sculptured record; their numerous coins alone attest their good fortune; which is set forth with the aid of historical truth, poetical imagination, and artistic skill. The reason of this absence of sculptured busts and inscriptions of Emperors whose coins are abundant, is obvious. The latter, by their nature, are comparatively indestructible, while the former are always the first, from their more conspicuous position, and less durable material, to suffer from time and from the more fatal effects of human ignorance and barbarism. When the chances of war reversed the fortunes of a rival Emperor, every memento of his former success was carefully and systematically erased by order of the conqueror.

That this was a regular and established custom we have the direct and repeated assurances of historians.

Eusebius^c relates that after Constantine had decreed the death of Maximian, the titles of the late Emperor were obliterated and his statues overturned. His son, Maxentius, retaliated on the murderer of his father, and destroyed the statues and monuments of Constantine, who, in the end, as Aurelius Victor informs us, was fortunate enough to be able to inscribe with his own name the public works erected by Maxentius. "*Adhuc cuncta opera quæ*

^c *De Vita Constantini*, lib. 1, cap. xlvii.

magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum, atque basilicam, Flavii meritis patres sacravere."

It requires some explanation to account for this singular and remarkable fact; that while seeking in vain for records on marble or stone of the other usurpers, we should find two examples of the acknowledged authority of Tetricus, among other inscriptions found on the site of Clausentum, which are dedicated to the legitimate Emperors Gordian, to Gallus and Volusian, and to Aurelian, who recovered Gaul and Britain from the rule of Tetricus.

Tetricus retained possession of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, for four years, comprising the latter part of the reign of Gallienus, and the entire sovereignty of Claudius Gothicus, who was too busily employed in repelling the Goths from Thrace and Macedonia, to attempt the still more difficult recovery of the western provinces. This duty devolved on his successor, Aurelian.

Tetricus, though at the head of a powerful army, composed of faithful and tried legions and of auxiliary Franks and Batavians, on the very commencement of the decisive engagement near Chalons, went over to Aurelian, having first posted his troops in a position to favour the attacks of his adversary. For this treachery, Tetricus saved his own and his son's life, and gained the everlasting friendship of the conqueror, who eventually rewarded his treasonable confidence with the highest honours. Vopiscus,^e Trebellius Pollio,^f and other historians,^g agree in asserting that Tetricus was advanced by Aurelian to the highest offices of the state, in the full enjoyment of his titles and fortune, and the personal friendship of his former rival.

It appears to me extremely probable that among the unbounded favours lavished by Aurelian on Tetricus, may be included a special exemption from the usual fate of the conquered, of his statues and monuments, a very natural privilege in this case, and which would account for the association of the dedications to these two Emperors, at Clausentum.

The site of this station, since the time of Warner and Sir H. Englefield, has lost much of its particular character as described by those writers; but

^d De Caesaribus, cap. xl. 26.

^e De Aureliano, cap. 39.

^f De Tetrico Seniore.

^g See Eutropius, lib. ix. cap. 9, and Victor, De Caes. cap. xxxv.

it can still be identified both by its singular position on the river Itchen, and by the remains of the vallum which defended it on the land side. On the eastern side the ruins of a wall are yet visible, while in the gardens of the manor house are preserved several of the relics of architecture described by Sir Henry Englefield; and Mrs. Stuart Hall, the present possessor of the property, has collected many interesting fragments of pottery, glass beads, and various other remains, found chiefly in levelling the inner vallum. With these are also preserved several hundreds of Roman coins, extending from the time of Augustus to that of Gratian, the most numerous of which are those of the Emperor whose inscriptions are the subject of this communication.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

TO SIR HENRY ELLIS, K. H., &c. &c.

XXI. *Particulars relative to that Portion of the Regalia of England which was made for the Coronation of King Charles the Second. Communicated by ROBERT COLE, Esq. in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 9th Dec. 1841.

DEAR SIR,

57, Upper Norton Street, Portland Place, 9th Dec. 1841.

THE interest occasioned by the removal of the Regalia from the Jewel House to a place of greater safety, during the late fire at the Tower, will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for the liberty I take in requesting the favour of your communicating to the Society of Antiquaries the following particulars relative to that portion of the Regalia which was made for the Coronation of Charles the Second.

It will be in the recollection of the Society, that some two or three years ago the then Lords of the Treasury directed the selection and mutilation of many tons weight of Exchequer Records (as they were not improperly called), and which, after being mutilated, were sold as waste paper. It is not necessary for me to make any observation on the propriety or impropriety of this order for the destruction of original documents, nor on the manner in which that order was executed: the report of the Committee appointed by the House of Lords to inquire into the subject is before the public, and to that and the evidence taken on the occasion I would refer the Society.

The contractor with the Government for the purchase of the mutilated records resold the mass in various parcels, and a portion, about two tons weight, came to my hands, from which, as you are aware, I selected many very curious and interesting documents—one of them the subject of my present communication.

The Coronation of Charles the Second was appointed to be solemnized on the 7th of February, 1660-1; but "for many weighty reasons" it was deferred

to the 23d of April following. One of the "weighty reasons" may have been the want of regalia for the occasion, for we learn from a MS. intituled "The Preparations for His Majesty's Coronation, collected by Sir Edward Walker, Knt., Garter Principal King at Arms," first published in 1820, "that because through the rapine of the then late unhappy times all the royal ornaments and regalia theretofore preserved from age to age in the treasury of the Church of Westminster, had been taken away, sold, and destroyed, the committee (appointed to order the ceremony) met divers times not only to direct the re-making such royal ornaments and regalia, but even to settle the form and fashion of each particular, all which did then retain the old names and fashion, although they had been newly made and prepared by orders given to the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the Great Wardrobe, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knt., Master of the Jewel House. Whereupon the Master of the Jewel House had order to provide two imperial crowns, set with precious stones; the one to be called St. Edward's crown, wherewith the King was to be crowned, and the other to be put on after his coronation before his Majesty's return to Westminster Hall. Also an orb of gold, with a cross set with precious stones; a sceptre with a cross set with precious stones, called St. Edward's; a sceptre with a dove, set with precious stones; a long sceptre, or staff of gold, with a cross upon the top, and a pike at the foot of steel, called St. Edward's staff; a ring with a ruby; a pair of gold spurs; a chalice and paten of gold; an ampull for the oil, and a spoon; and two ingots of gold, the one a pound and the other a mark, for the King's two offerings." And the Master of the Great Wardrobe had orders "to provide the ornaments to be called St. Edward's, wherein the King was to be crowned, and among other things the armilla of the fashion of a stole, made of the cloth of gold, to be put about the neck and fastened above and beneath the elbows with silk ribbands."

In this MS. of Sir Edward Walker's no mention is made of the name of the goldsmith employed to make the new regalia, nor of the price paid for it, and it was not until very recently that either was known to Mr. Swifte the present Keeper of the Jewel House, or, I believe, to Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, and then only in consequence of my letters to them.

It may not be of the slightest importance to know by whom any ordinary

article of dress or ornament was made, but crowns and sceptres are not of daily manufacture. We are told (in Walker's MS. above quoted) that the Coronation Committee met to direct the re-making of the royal ornaments and regalia, and to settle the form and fashion of each particular, and that the newly-made regalia retained the old names and fashion. The Committee had power, it appears, to send for all such persons as might be proper "to inform them" on the subject, and Sir Robert Vyner, the King's Goldsmith, was no doubt one of such persons. He it was who made the new regalia, and we may with good reason suppose that he was well acquainted with the "form and fashion" of the ancient regalia which had been destroyed in the previous "unhappy times." The Account of Sir Robert Vyner must have been an interesting document—but what has become of it? Amidst the wholesale destruction of Exchequer documents, one can hardly suppose "a pound, shillings and pence" account would have been preserved; but whether preserved or not, Sir Robert Vyner's receipt for a portion of the amount (we must presume) was deemed *worthless* by the persons to whom was consigned the duty of examination and mutilation, for *that* receipt I fortunately found in the mass of mutilated papers before alluded to, accompanied by an official copy of a Treasury order, dated 20th of June, 1662, for payment to Vyner of £21,978. 9s. 11d. The receipt is dated 1st July, 1662, and given by Vyner for £5,500, part of the £21,978. 9s. 11d. "due and payable to him for two crowns, two scepters, and a globe of gold sett with diamonds, rubyes, sapphires, emeralds, and pearles, St. Edward's staffe, the armilla, ampull, and other the regalia, all of gold, provided by him for his Majesty's coronation, and for a crowne, mace, chayne, and badge for Garter King at Armes, 17 collars, 17 Georges, and five garters of the order of St. George, and 75 badges of the order of the Bath, all of gold, divers parcels of guilt plate, given to the peeres and others for new yeare's gifts and at christenings, 18 large maces, and divers other parcells of guilt and white plate; all which, together with some necessities for his Majesty's Jewell Howse, amounting to the sum of £31,978. 9s. 11d., are acknowledged under the hand of Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knt. Master of his Majesty's Jewell Howse, to have been delivered in by the said Robert Vyner, and accordingly received for his Majesty's service."

I shall with much pleasure exhibit the original documents for the inspection of the Society, on the evening when it may be convenient to you to introduce the subject to their notice. And

I am, with respect, dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

ROBERT COLE.

TO SIR HENRY ELLIS, F.R.S.,
&c. &c. &c.

Robert Vyner, his Mat^r Goldsmith, for two Royall Crownes for his Mat^{ie}, two Scepters, and divers other Jewells and Plate.

Order is taken this xxth day of June, 1662, by vertue of his Ma^{ty} l^{res} of privy seale, dated y^e xxijth day of July, 1661. That you deliv^r and pay of such his Ma^{ty} treasure as remaines in yo^r charge, unto Robert Vyner his Ma^{ty} goldsmith, or his assignes, the summe of xxi^m ix^c lxxviiij^{li} ix^s xi^d (the other x^m li being warranted to be paid by his Ma^{ty} l^{res} of privy seale, dated the xxvith day of June last past) w^{ch} his Ma^{ty} pleasure is shalbe without accompt, due and payable to him for two crownes, two scepters, and a globe of gold, sett with diamonds, rubyes, sapphires, emeralds, and pearles; St. Edward's staffe, the armilla, ampull, and other the regalia, all of gold, pvided by him for his Ma^{ty} coronation; and for a crowne, mace, chayne, and badge for Garter King at Armes, xvij collars, xvij Georges, and five garters of the Order of St. George, and lxxv badges of the Order of the Bath, all of gold, divers pcells of guilt plate given to y^e Peeres and others for new yeares guifts and at christinings; xviiij large maces and divers other pcells of guilt and white plate; all w^{ch}, together with some necessities for his Ma^{ty} jewell howse, amounting to the sume of xxxi^m ix^c lxxviiij^{li} ix^s xi^d, are acknowledged under the hand of Sr Gilbert Talbot, Kn^t. Ma^r of his Ma^{ty} jewell howse, to have been deliv^{ed} in by the said Robert Vyner, and accordingly received for his Ma^{ty} service without accompt, &c. And these, together with his acquittance, shall be yo^r discharge herein, xxi^m ix^c lxxviiij^{li} ix^s xi^d.—T. SOUTHAMPTON.

Mr. Squibb I pray pay in pte of this order	v ^m v ^c li.
Mr. Loveing	v ^m v ^c li.
S ^r George Downing	v ^m v ^c li.
Mr. Pinckney in full	v ^m iiij ^c lxxviiij ^{li} ix ^s xi ^d .

2 M 2

Ye first day of July, 1662.

Receaved upon an order of the xxth day of June, 1662, by vertue of his Ma^{ty} P^{res} of privy seale, dated the xxijth day of July, 1661, of Lawrence Squibb, Esq^r, one of the tell^{rs} of the receipt of his Ma^{ty} Excheq^r, by me, Robert Vyner, his Ma^{ty} goldsmith, the sume of five thousand five hundred pounds in p^{te} of xxim ix^c lxxviii^l ix^s xi^d, (the other x^m li being warranted to be paid by his Ma^{ty} P^{res} of privy seale dated y^e xxvjth day of June last past) w^{ch} his Ma^{ty}'s pleasure is shall be wth out accompt; due and payable to him for two crownes, two scepters, and a globe of gold, set wth diamonds, rubyes, saphires, emeralds, and pearles, St Ed^{ws} staffe, y^e armilla, ampull, and other y^e regalia, all of gold, p^{vid}ed by him for his Ma^{ty} coronacon; and for a crowne, mace, chaine, and badge for Garter King at Armes, xvij collars, xvij Georges, and five garters of the Order of St George, and lxxv badges of the Order of the Bath, all of gold, divers pcells of guilt plate given to y^e Peeres and others for new years guifts and at christinings, xviii large maces, and divers other pcells of guilt and white plate; all w^{ch}, together with some necessities for his Ma^{ty} jewell howse, amounting to y^e sume of xxxim ix^c lxxvij^l ix^s xi^d, are acknowledged under the hand of S^r Gilbert Talbot, Kn^t. Ma^r of his Ma^{ty} jewell howse, to have been deliv^{ed} in by me y^e s^d Robert Vyner, and accordingly rec^d for his Ma^{ty} service without accompt; I say received y^e sume of v^m v^c li, five thousand and five hundred pounds, p. ROBT. VYNER.

XXII. *Observations on further Roman Remains discovered in London.*
In a Letter from CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A., to
Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read 16th December, 1841.

City, December 13th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,

IN continuation of my accounts of discoveries of Roman Remains in the City of London, those recently made on the site of the Royal Exchange now demand our attention.

It was reasonably anticipated that the excavations in this central situation, would either be productive of objects of ancient art, or be in some degree serviceable in a topographical point of view ; the sequel has, in both respects, realized our hopes.

The east side was the first excavated, and yielded but few remains assignable to the Roman epoch ; indeed, throughout the area, it was very evident that the superficies of the strata in which these were to be sought for, had in former times been broken up, and the walls and foundations of the buildings carried away, a fact indicated by fragments of tiles, mortar, and frescoes occasionally noticed.

On advancing to the centre of the area, a more prominent feature was exhibited. Here, the foundations of buildings were laid open in well constructed walls running in a diagonal direction from N.E. to N.W., and about 30 feet further west, with other remains of foundations, was discovered a mass of masonry six feet square, composed of tiles and mortar. Two sides of this fragment, when first found, still retained the paintings in fresco with which they had been ornamented ; they were laid on a thick coat of stucco,

compact and smooth, the ground of a pale pink colour, bordered by an egg and tongue pattern, surmounted by an elegant scroll.

From the slight traces of foundations remaining, it would be useless to speculate on the character of the building, or attempt to decide whether it were of a public or private kind, although I conceive many reasons may be urged for assigning it to the latter class.

Beneath this masonry was a layer of gravel two feet thick, which (being nineteen feet from the street level) was at first presumed to be the native undisturbed stratum; but, upon its removal, an unexpected disclosure was made, which will explain the probable period of the erection of the building, and form a prominent feature in my present communication, casting a gleam of light on the obscure and doubtful topography of our city under the Roman governance.

This layer of gravel being taken away, the sub-soil to the extent of 40 feet by 50, and to the depth of 19 feet, was found to be wholly foreign to the locality. It was composed almost entirely of animal and vegetable matter, apparently thrown in as refuse from adjacent shops and houses. In one part of the pit were loads of oyster shells; in another, dross from the smith's forge, bones of cows, sheep, and goats, matted together with ordure, and interspersed with abundance of broken pottery, pieces of leather, portions of sandals, fragments of glass, lamps, instruments of iron, fibulæ, a strigil, coins, and other objects of interest, some of which I will presently refer to.

It was not until this extraneous soil was removed, that the nature and origin of the pit in which it had been deposited, could be ascertained.

I have in former communications (founding my opinion upon sepulchral interments and other evidences) stated, that I consider the growth of the Roman city to have been very gradual in attaining the limits indicated by the course of the boundary wall. The discoveries under consideration confirm this conclusion. The deep cavity in the native gravel, which, by the removal of the heterogeneous contents, was laid open, had very evidently been excavated by the inhabitants of Londinium, (probably in the infancy of the settlement,) to supply gravel, a primary ingredient in the substrata of floorings of domestic buildings, and in constant request for various other purposes.

At this period, we may safely decide this gravel-pit to have been at some distance from the city, then probably confined to the banks of the Thames; but, as the material it furnished abounded in all parts of the neighbourhood, the pit was in course of time abandoned, and subsequently appropriated as a receptacle for refuse and rubbish; meanwhile, buildings extended towards the verge of the pit, and soon required a still further increase of territory. The cavity was then completely filled, and to render the site suitable for the purpose required, a foundation of gravel was spread over the surface, which was thus adapted for houses, whose vestiges I have just noticed.

The coins discovered in this pit, fully corroborate the inference I have drawn from the facts detailed; they are chiefly of the second brass of Vespasian and Domitian, to the amount of nearly twelve, with only a solitary instance of a later date in a plated denarius of Severus; these coins must necessarily have been deposited previously to the pit having been covered in for building on.

In enumerating the various articles found in the pit, the sandals claim attention. They are of leather, of various sizes, and in point of fabrication, as regards the soles, closely resemble our modern right-and-left shoes, but with this difference, that the layer of leather next to the sole of the foot, is close sewn to the lower portions, and then forms an exterior ridge from which, at the sides, spring loops for fastening the sandals over the instep with straps or fillets; in nearly all instances this ridge folds a little way over, and protects the extremities of the toes.^a Other sandals, apparently for women and children, have reticulated work round the heels and sides of various degrees of fineness, and more or less elegant in appearance; and by the protection afforded to the feet, they all seem well adapted to a wet and cold climate such as that of Britain. The larger, are very evidently species of the *caligæ* worn by the Roman soldiers, a distinctive character of which they also exhibit in the hob-nails profusely studding the soles,

——— "*Caligatos*

Millia clavorum,"

as described by Juvenal.^b Pliny also associates the *caliga* with nails. In

^a See Montfaucon, tom. iii. p. 1, pl. xxxv. and Jul. Nigrone de *Caliga Veterum*. Lugd. 1711, 8vo. from the specimens engraved in which our sandals differ in details.

^b Sat. xvi. l. 24.

describing a peculiar kind of fish, he says, "squamis conspicui crebris, atque peracutis, clavorum caligarum effigie."^c

Many of these still more closely resemble the campagum, a kind of sandal of foreign origin, closely allied to the caliga, but apparently more ornamented with fissures and net-work. Trebellius Pollio speaks of Gallienus calling the campagi *nets*, "Caligas gemmatas annexuit, quum campagos reticulos appellaret."^d

Among the fragments of leather was one, as I am informed, stamped with the letters S.P.Q.R.; this I did not see, and I believe it was lost, soon after it was in the possession of the Joint Gresham Committee, a fate that has also befallen other antiquities collected for that body.

A variety of knives have been preserved; they bear a close similitude to those in use at the present day; some very long and slender, with handles of the same piece of metal, terminating in rings for fastening them to the girdle or some part of the dress; others resemble the scalpel, and have a larger ring at the end of the handle to admit the finger. One of the latter kind, bears the maker's name stamped on the blade OLONDVS. F. *Olondus fecit*; another of a different shape, to which a wooden handle has been attached, has the name of another maker, of which the letters P. PAS . . . F are alone legible. These are the only instances, in which I have met with the names of the manufacturers stamped on knives. There is another, precisely of the shape of a modern oyster-knife, and probably intended for a similar purpose, with a bone handle ornamented with circles.

A vast number of instruments in iron were also discovered, the use of many of which is not very apparent; some may have been modelling tools, as they certainly bear an affinity to those of the present day. Among them are many styli, or at least instruments usually recognised as such by antiquaries. Some care and taste have been bestowed in ornamenting several of these, with small bands of brass and silver, and their form and fashion would seem to adapt them well for writing or engraving on the waxen scrolls or tablets used by the ancients. Ovid, in describing a lady inditing a love-letter, is very explicit on the means employed:

^c Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. xviii.

^d Hist. Augustæ, p. 736.

"Dextra tenet *ferrum*, vacuam tenet altera *ceram*.
 Incipit, et dubitat: scribit, damnatque tabellas:
 Et notat, et delet: mutat, culpatque, probatque."^e

A species of the *pugillares*, or writing tables, I believe will also be recognised in a thin piece of wood about four inches square, surrounded by a slight rim (to contain the layer of wax) with a flap or cover of leather, found with the before mentioned articles.

Not the least interesting among the objects of ancient art discovered in the pit described, are a number of wooden implements, of from five to ten inches in length, about an inch in circumference in the middle, tapering towards the ends. No satisfactory conjecture could be made as to their probable use, until we discovered twisted on one a quantity of filaments of wool, when the idea of their having been used in some part of the process of weaving suggested itself.^f

No ancient author, that I am aware of, includes woollen cloths among the articles imported into Britain. It is probable that the primitive Britons were not utterly ignorant of the art of weaving; for, as *Cæsar*^g remarks that the *less* civilised wore skins, we may infer that those in the *more* civilised districts wore clothing of a superior kind, which would almost of necessity be woollen cloths. Should these little wooden instruments^h be positively identified as forming a part of the weaving apparatus, it will be curious to trace, by such insignificant means, the foundation or infancy of one of the great staple manufactures of England.

It will not be necessary for me to dwell on the more common objects here discovered, such as terra cotta lamps, combs in wood, rings, armlets, a pearl of large size, but of bad colour, resembling the Scotch pearls, shears, pins in metal and bone, and a small bellⁱ with a clapper, which is still sonorous. The good preservation in which most of the relics have been found, may be attri-

^e Lib. ix. l. 521.

^f Eumenius speaks of Britain as abounding in sheep—"contra pecorum mitium innumera-bilis multitudo lacte distenta, et onusta velleribus."—Panegy. Constantino Aug. c. ix.

^g De Bel. Gal. lv. c. xiv.

^h They closely resemble the little wooden instruments called *slivers* used in yarn spinning in the West of England.

ⁱ See Montfaucon, tom. iii. part 1, pl. lv.

buted to the humidity of the soil in which they were embedded, as well as, in some respects, to the tannin from the ligneous portions of it.

I regret that the regulations under which I was permitted to make my observations in the course of the excavations on the site of the Exchange, did not tolerate such free and minute examinations as the importance of the subject required.

Other localities at which excavations have recently been made for sewers, are Clement's Lane, and St. Paul's Churchyard.

Throughout the former, at the depth of twelve to fifteen feet, walls of Roman work were repeatedly found crossing the street, and occasionally fragments of tessellated pavements. The walls were about three feet in thickness, and composed of flints, rubble, and tiles irregularly disposed. The soil had acquired a reddish tinge, such as brick earth exhibits when subjected to fire. Amongst the rubbish we obtained beads, lamps, urns, pottery, and coins in brass of Claudius, Vespasian, Nero, Constantine, and Aurelian, together with a small fragment of a glass bottle of a dark blue colour with white specks; of this extremely rare kind of glass there is a perfect specimen in the museum of Boulogne.

At the junction of St. Paul's Churchyard with Cheapside to the N.E., a domestic building, apparently of a superior kind and of some extent, was intersected by the channel cut for a sewer. At the depth of 18 feet, the section presented a view of the hypocaust, with its rows of pillars of tiles, averaging from 15 to 20 tiles in each pillar. These were covered with large tiles 24 inches square and 3 in. thick^k (the bipedales of Vitruvius); on which was a stratum of fine mortar, and above, the remains of a tessellated pavement. This pavement was destroyed almost as soon as discovered, and an extension of the excavation beyond the bounds of the sewer not being permitted, I was unable to make any sketch or record any particulars, except that the portion laid open was ornamented with a very pretty rosette pattern worked in red, grey, white, yellow, and black tesserae on a white ground. The building bore marks of having been subjected to a rougher hand than that of time; some of the external walls had been carried away, and the

^k The tiles are perforated in the centre with five holes.

interstices of the hypocaust were filled with rubbish, and many of the pillars (formed of tiles) broken down. Coins, found beneath the ruins, are again useful in affixing the probable period of the erection of the building. There were about twenty, of which seven came into my possession. They are of Constans, Constantius, Magnentius, Decentius, and Valens.

It will be recollected, that in former communications I have recorded the existence of Roman walls, in Cheapside, in the immediate vicinity of these remains, and also of a tessellated pavement 30 feet in length, laid open and destroyed, in Paternoster Row, two years since; discoveries combining to demonstrate, how little the plan of modern London can be relied on, as a guide to that of the Roman city, since in so many instances they negative the early existence of streets or roads in courses where for many centuries we can prove they have been established. And here I may briefly refer to a recent discovery of a Roman wall in Cornhill, between Bank Buildings and the Exchange; but, a shaft only having been sunk, it was impossible to ascertain more than the position of the wall, which appeared to run in the direction of the Bank, its thickness being 7 feet, height 14, and depth 20, from the bottom to the street level.

I have now to direct your attention to a very superb specimen of red pottery found in Cornhill, near the wall just mentioned. The great variety of this elegant ware, often called Samian, that of late years has been exhumed in London, the chaste and beautiful designs with which it is embellished, and the indirect allusions they often contain to the habits and customs of the ancients, render it justly an object of interest. The vase, which I exhibit, is of a description very superior to the best hitherto discovered, and, although unfortunately imperfect, is still in a condition to enable us to form a correct idea of its shape and character. It is 10 inches in height and 34 in circumference, and has been about 8 inc. in diameter at the mouth. The ornaments consist of male and female figures, with vine trees placed alternately, and forming a band 4 inches deep round the exterior; above this, is a smaller band of vine branches and hares, and beneath, a border in which birds are introduced alternately with vines. Three only of the figures in the central compartment remain, and two of these are mutilated. The middle one is a full-faced youthful male figure, with

two javelins or hunting spears : the other figures are those of seated females, covered with a profusion of drapery ; at the feet of one, is a recumbent amphora, and by the side of the other is placed a Phrygian shield ; the whole executed in a good style of art. It possesses this peculiarity, that the ornaments have been cast in a mould, then applied to the vase, and finished off with a graver.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

To Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S.,
Secretary S.A.

XXIII. *Letter from Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary, to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq., V.P., accompanying a Scheme proposed in the Time of Charles the First for establishing a Mount of Piety in England.*

Read Jan. 20, Feb. 3, 10, 1842.

British Museum, Jan. 20, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

FEW persons, generally speaking, are aware that establishments called *Monti di Piéta*, institutions for lending money at a moderate interest to necessitous persons upon pledges, have long existed in Italy. They originated in the fifteenth century, in consequence of the excessive usury of the Jews and Lombards, who sometimes went so far as to take an interest of twenty-five per cent. The earliest of these Institutions is believed to have been that at Padua founded in 1491. Leo the Tenth soon after adopted the plan at Rome, as a public benevolent institution under the inspection of the Government.

In 1577 we find one of these establishments at Avignon. Subsequently the example of Italy was followed in other states, though not always in uniformity with the original Mounts of Piety as to regulations and advantages.

The Archduke Albert established them in 1618 at Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels; and in French Flanders, between 1615 and 1633, they arose at Bergues, Lille, Cambray, Douay, and Valenciennes.

Joseph the First established a *Mont de Piété* at Vienna in 1707; and at a later period institutions bearing the same name became common in France.^a

In the time of Charles the First an express imitation of the original *Mont de Piété*, even to the name, was proposed by some of our nobility: the introduction of the scheme of which to the notice of the Society of Antiqua-

^a An elaborate Account of the *Monts de Piété* will be found in Visct. Alban de Villeneuve Bergemont's *Economie Politique Chrétienne*, 8°. Bruxelles, 1837, p. 314 & seqq.

ries is the object of my present letter. This scheme is in the shape of a short treatise, and is preserved in a miscellaneous volume of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, No. 351, fol. 18.

The plan was probably abandoned in consequence of the breaking out of the Civil War.

It must not however be forgotten that a charitable Corporation of the same kind, for lending money at legal interest to the poor upon small pledges, and to persons of better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned, was established in London in 1707, and continued till 1731, when George Robinson, M.P. for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, a warehouse-keeper, disappeared, having fled abroad; and on investigation there were found only effects of the Corporation worth £30,000, to satisfy the subscribers of £500,000. An account of this fraudulent establishment may be seen in Smollet's History of England, 8^o. 1800, p. 508 (for the year 1731, § 22), also in Chandler's Debates, 8vo. 1742, vol. vii. p. 154—158. The names of the Members of the Committee of Inquiry, *ibid.* p. 208, and Further Proceedings, pp. 219—221, 236, 240—249.

The Acts of Parliament relating to this affair, are 5 Geo. II., cc. xxxi. xxxii.

The seventeenth volume of the Historical Register, for the year 1732, contains the Report of the Gentlemen associated by the General Courts to inspect their Affairs, p. 108—124; and the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons (abstracted) with the examination of Witnesses, in pp. 220—232 and 255—281. The whole was a subject which created great excitement at the time, and occasioned the expulsion of three members of the House of Commons.

For drawing my attention to these latter facts I am indebted to our worthy member and my excellent friend Wm. A. A. White, Esq., of College street, Westminster.

The short Treatise which I have now to introduce, if it ever had a title, has lost it. It begins with the following Preface.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your faithful obliged servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

HUDSON GURNEY, Esq., F.R.S.
V.P.S.A.

THE PREFACE.

In every Commonwealth, Citty, and Towne whatsoever there are never wanting infinite numbers of the poorer sort of tradesmen, yea of rich men alsoe, which at some time or other stand in neede of money; and cannot subsist except there bee some that may lend money unto them, either upon bonds or pawnes, for the supplying of their present necessityes. Wicked and uncharitable men have, in all places and countreys, taken advantage of the wants of these men and exacted exceeding excessive usury, but noe countrey whatsoever hath ever suffered soe long and soe much as ours here in England. The consideracion whereof, saith one of our ancient merchants, is able only to stupifie the senses of any man, hee upon long observacion finding that the least usury our Brokers take to bee after 6^d for 20th for the month of 28 days, which is above 30 per cent. by the yeare, and two pence for the bill money of 20 shillings, which is more then the interest; and that others take 8 pence the month, which is 50 in the hundred; but, saith hee, the usuall rate for small thinges is 12 pence the weeke or month, which is 60 in the hundred, and with bill money above fourscore. Yea he further noteth, that there is taken the shilling penny by the weeke of fishwives, oysterwomen, and others that doe crye things up and downe the streets, which is above 400 hundred in the hundred in the yeare besides the bill money, and what this amounts unto, saith hee, divided into small sums, is incredible. To extirpate and roote out these griping and usurious extortioners, our State (as much as any other) hath by divers Lawes and Actes of Parliament used all endeavours possible to remedie it, but in vaine. Italy only, and by that example the Lowe Countreys, I meane in those provinces which are subject to the now Prince Cardinall, as alsoe the Principality of Leidge, have had the singular happiness to find out and to putt in practise the only true meanes and certaine remedie to extirpate and roote out all usury whatsoever, either of Lombards, Brokers, or any other usurers whatsoever; which is by erecting of certaine pawnes-houses, called beyond the seas Mounts of Piety (truly deserving its name) where either rich or poore that are in want, shall be alwaies furnished of whatsoever summe they stand in neede of upon any pawne they bring, without paying any penny

Gerard Ma-
line's *Lex*
Mercatoria,
c. 13.

Ibidem.

profit or overplus for the money lent, nor for any consideration whatsoever, except soe much as will serve to stocke, build, and repaire the house wherein the pawnes are kept, and for officers wages, paper bookes, and parchement. Our desire is that our Countrey alsoe may participate of the same remedy. For wee propose noe new project or invention which may bee either doubted or questioned, but a remedy which hath beene so much desired, and being found, soe exactly sifted, examined, and alwaies in all places hitherto approved, and is still where they are with great applause entertained; if so bee they may be found not to bee in any point contrary unto any of our lawes and statutes here enacted and in force, whereof wee doubt not to make good demonstracion. If soe bee a Mount of Piety bee but truly understoode, for then it will be made manifest that these Mounts nor those of the Mount are usurers or doe make any usurious contract, and therefore are neither within the statute of 21 Jacobi, nor within any other statute of usury whatsoever. To demonstrate this the better, wee will divide this Treatise into 12 chapters wherein in order shall bee sett downe

1. First what a Mount of Piety is, and how many sorts of Mounts there are, according as the civillians have distinguished them.
2. Secondly, what sort of Mounts these are, and that these Mounts now intended are not burdensome but beneficiall to the commonwealth.
3. That those Mounts are not of the nature either of the Lumbardes or Brokers, and wherein they differ.
4. Fourthly shall bee sett downe the enormous abuses of our Brokers, and how they are remedied by a Mount of Piety.
5. Further demonstrations of the same, and the severall examinaciones and approbationes of these Mountes beyonde the seas.
6. That by the positions and doctrine of all our owne divines here in England (which have written concerning usury), these Mounts are cleerely freed from all practise of usury, and that they make noe usurious contractes.
7. Certaine consideraciones concerning the statute of 21 Jacobi concerning usury.
8. The benefitts which will come by the erection of these Mountes, and first to every subject of his Majesty in particular.

9. Secondly to every citty, towne, or place in which the Mounts shal bee erected or sett up.
10. Thirdly to our Commonwealth and State in general.
11. Fourthly and lastly to his Majesty.
12. An answer unto certaine objections which may bee made.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

WHAT A MOUNT OF PIETY IS, AND INTO HOW MANY SORTES OF MOUNTES THEY ARE DISTINGUISHED BY THE CIVILLIANES.

A Mount of Piety is a certaine place erected by publique authoritye, wherein a mass of money is deposited ready to be lent out upon any pawne without profit or gaine whatsoever, except soe much only as (upon true calculacion) shall be found necessary to save the Mount harmeless, and for conservacion of the same ; that is to defray all necessary charges in stocking, erecting, and repaying of a convenient house for the safe keeping of the goodes pawned, and then only to pay the fees and wages of officers and servantes.

This definition extendeth to all sorts of Mounts, which the civillianes doe distinguish into three kindes.

The 1st they call gratuite, that is when a mass of money is given or bequeathed of charity, to the end the poore may be relieved by lending it to them upon a pawne gratis, without receiving of any profit for the loane or for officers wages, &c.

This sort of Mountes doe carry a faire shew, and is rather to be wished then hoped for to be erected in our commonwealth.

Such are the Mountes in Bruges, Lisle, and Ipre in Flanders, where they are found by experience to bring so little benefitt and commodity to those places, as that they are compelled to continue the Lombards still amongst them. The reason is because their stocke being small, noe man can receive upon any pawne whatsoever above 40s, hee that needeth more must go to the Lombards ; and here wee desire to be understoode that by setting up of our

Mount, our intention is not to hinder any other that shall of charity undertake to sett upp as many of these as they please.

2. The second sorte of Mountes is called onorosa or burdensome, because the masse of money that maketh the stocke is gathered of the people by laying some new tax or imposition upon all those of such a towne, citty or territory wherein they are to bee erected.

3. The third sort are called mixt Mountes, because they consist partly of free donations and legacies, and partly of money levied upon the people by taxation or imposition, especially when charities given are not sufficient to raise a competent summe to make a stocke.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

WHAT SORTE OF MOUNTES THESE ARE WHICH ARE NOW INTENDED TO BEE SETT UP IN ENGLAND, AND THAT THESE MOUNTES ARE NOT ONOROSÆ, &c.

The Mountes these Lords doe intende to sett up is not of the nature of any of these, for as for the first and third sort before mentioned wee cannot as we have before said, expect soe much charity either from the citty or commonwealth, as to be able to raise soe many thousand poundes to make a stocke for soe many Mountes as are intended (seeing less then £100,000 will not serve to stocke and sett up one only Mount here in London). As concerning the second sort, these lordes doe offer theire endeavours to erect theire Mountes without any new imposition or taxation to be levied upon the subject, or by any new meanes or inventions to make or compell them to contribute thereunto; nay more, they are soe farr from laying any new burthen upon the subject, as that the subject shall bee eased and the burden lessned which is now dayly layd upon them by the Brokers; for they shall not pay to the Mount the halfe of what they now paye to the Brokers; and as the charges of the Mount doe decrease, so shall they still pay less and less, according to the president which they find practised in the Low Countrye, which is that this halfe which they now pay unto the Mount is not at all receaved for any man's private profit, but to sett upp, build, stocke, and

repaire the house of the Mount, and to defray the officers' wages. Soe as these Mountes are not onerosæ or burdensome, but rather beneficiall to the commonwealth and the subjectes of his Majestie, and that even at the first, when they take most. Further, how can these Mountes be called onerosæ or burdensome, by raiseing any new taxe or imposition upon the subject, seeing none at all are compelled to contribute to their erection, noe nor so much as to bring any pawnes thither (for they may still goe to the Brokers if they please, it not being required that they should be putt downe). Those, then, that doe come unto the Mount, must bee presumed to come voluntarily, and they receaving profit by the Mount, in all justice and equitie they ought to beare part of the charge, according to these sentences of the civill law, "*Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus*," and "*Gerens utiliter negotium alterius debet immunis servari*," and "*Volenti non fit injuria*," &c.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

THAT THOSE MOUNTES ARE NOT OF THE NATURE OF THE LOMBARDES
NOR BROKERS, AND WHEREIN THEY DIFFER.

The Lombardes and Brokers are usurers, these are none; for the interest and overplus which they doe take is lucratory; what the Mountes receive is but compensatory.

That which they receive is for the loane meerely; this of the Mount only for indemnity, and to save the Mount harmeless.

The intention of the Lombardes and Broker is to growe rich by the goods of his neighbour; these of the Mountes to benefitt their neighbour and not to enrich themselves.

The Broker or Lombard stands still at one rate (if not rising every yeare); the Mountes goe still diminishing, less and less, untill they come only to satisfie for servants wages and reparations; soe as they doe keepe upp usury; these doe pull it downe.

To the Lombards and Brokers you do selle your goods and doe give to them the propriety thereof; here you doe but borrowe upon the pawnes, still keeping in yourselfe.

The Brokers and Lombards doe take all forfeitures; these of the Mounts doe take none. To be short, they differ from the Broker and Lombarde in as many particulars as they doe give remedy to any of their abuses, as is made apparently in the chapter following.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

SHEWING THE ENORMOUS ABUSES OF BROKERS AND HOW THEY ARE REMEDIED BY A MOUNT OF PIETY.

Aristotle saith, that "*contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt*," and therefore I will confront them the one against the other.

The Abuses of Brokers.

Brokers many tymes turne bank-routs; the pawnes, if stolne, they are not bound to warranty, for, (as it is in Southcote's case,) they are only bound to keepe them as their owne; moreover, as Gerard Malines shewes, they lett out the pawnes to others, and so the pawns are used and abused.

1.

Remedied by a Mount of Piety.

The Mounts will warrant all goods pawned unto them from all loss or spoylinge, except it bee by warr or fier.

2.

The Broker exacteth 6^d. for every 20^s. for bill money; soe as if upon a paune you take upp £20, you must pay 10^s. for the bill; for £50, 20^s.; and soe pro rata.

To the Mounte you pay but 6^d. for the bill, although it bee for £600 or £6,000; and the poore, for small things, shall have a tickett for nothing.

3.

The Broker's bill (being a bill of sale) is not given to them that pawned the goods, although the Broker bee paid for it, but the broker pinneth it upon the pawne, soe if he that

The Mounts doe demande noe bill of sale, but doe give a bill to the party that doth bring the pawne, wherein is expressed the yeare, month, and day when such a pawne was laid there,

pawned it doe chance to die sodenly, and for howe much.
or goe beyond the seas, his wife or
child, ignorant of any such pawning,
can have noe notice thereof, and soe
they loose the goods soe pawned.

4.

The usury the Brokers take is most
intollerable; those that doe take least
exact 6^d. for every month of 28 dayes,
some double, some treble, and this is
to enrich themselves.

The Mounts demande not halfe
this proportion, and that not for them-
selves, but to raise stocke, build and
repayre a house to keepe the goods in,
and for other necessary charges, and
this but for a time only, soe as where
now they doe (and shall alwaies pay)
6 pence, 8 pence, or 12 pence the
month to the Broker, they shall not
(at last) pay to the Mount but two or
three farthings to pay the servants'
wages and for reparations.

5.

If a pawne be laid to a Broker's at
the latter end of a month, viz. 25 or
26 of May, you shall be compelled to
pay for the whole month past, and if
the pawne bee taken out the 2, or 3,
or fourth day of the month, you must
pay for the whole month then in being.

Although the Mounts are bounde
to keepe the pawne for a yeare and
six weeks, yet you may take them out
the next day, weeke, or month, and
they will demande but for that day,
weeke, or month proportionably.

6.

The Broker should register all the
pawnes they take, but, as Malinessaith,
they doe not register the twentieth
part of them; besides, ther are above
500 in London which doe take pawnes
and yet are not Brokers, and these
doe not register any thing at all.

The Mounts have a registrer, whose
is sworne to record all and every par-
ticuler pawn, when it was layd in, and
for how much.

7.

The Broker withholdeth the pawne as forfeited, if you redeeme it not at your day. Afterwards without your privity your pawne is sold, you know not to whome, nor for how much; for they doe not register any thing that is sold.

The Mounts doe take noe forfeitures at all. The Mounts are bound to keep them a full yeare before any sale can be made. After the yeare they must put up bills sixe weekes before the sale, to give notice to all that such a day the goods or pawns of such a month are to be sold to the highest offerer: and a registrer sworne records every pawne soe sold.

8.

When the Broker makes sale of your goods, the overplus above the summe lent and the interest is not given to the party that pawned it, but is retained by the Broker as forfeited unto him.

The Mounts doe keepe the overplus for whomsoever shall bring the bill for the space of a year or two. If in that time none doe come to demande it, the overplus is given to the cheife magistrate to distribute it unto the poore of the place.

These Brokers are soe greedie of these forfeitures, as that they seldome without excessive gaine doe renew any bill at all, although it may bee the pawne were laid but for two, three, or four months only.

If the party be not able to redeeme the pawne, hee may only pay the Mounts; that is, the interest money, and take a new bill; the Mounts are then bounde to keepe the pawne for a yeare more; and hee may doe soe from yeare to yeare as long as hee please, or till hee can gett money to take it out, or be content to have it sold.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONE OF THE SAME, AND THE SEVERAL EXAMINATIONS AND APPROBATIONS OF THESE MOUNTS IN OTHER PLACES BEYOND THE SEAS.

Now further to shew that these Mounts are the only true and approved remedies against all abuses of Lombards, Brokers, or other usurers whatsoever, wee dare boldly affirm that no project, invention, or publique business whatsoever, hath receaved or undergone greater or more exact discussions and examinaciones then this of the Mounts hathe done.

1. For first they have beene examined and approved by two œcumenicall councelles, the one of Lateran under Pope Leo the 10th, which hath not only freed them from usury, but even from all suspicion of usury. The second is that of Trent, which saith in express words, "Mons Pietatis est causa pia."

2. Secondly, they have beene examined and approved by the bulls of seaven severall Popes, namely, by 1 *Paul* the 2^d. 2 *Sextus* the fourth. 3 *Innocent* the eight. 4 *Alexander* the eight. 5 *Julius* the second. 6 *Leo* the tenth. 7 and last, by *Julius* the third, Ano. 1550. for the Mount sett upp in Vicenna in Italy.

Sess. 6, de
Reform. c. 8,
9, and 11.

3. Thirdly, these Mounts have not only beene examined, sifted, and discussed, but alsoe allowed, approved, and cleered from all note or taxe of usury, or that they any way are to bee branded with the odious name of usurers, even by the best and most learned and approved doctors in divinity, and all civillians that have written for these 100 years last past, as appeareth by these here quoted.

1. *Navarrus* Concil. 2, de usuris.
2. *Paulus Comitulus*, l. 3, Resp. moral.
3. *Vincent Filliuccius*, to. 2, Moral. Quæst. 35.
Tract. 34, pun. 2, c. 9, 135, c. 178.
4. *Jo. Azorius* Inst. moral. p. 3, l. 5. c. 9, § 2, quæritur.
5. *Sigismundus Scaccia* tract. de commercijs et cambio. § 1, q. 1.
6. *Cosmus Philiarchus* de Officio sacerdotum, l. 5, c. 21, § quoad primum.

7. *Tho. Boninsignius* de Montibus, c. 4, 5.
8. *Leonardus Lessius* appendix ad Duvium, 23, c. 26, l. de just. et jure respons. ad q. 2.
9. *Ludovicus Molina*, To. 2, de Justitia disp. 325.
10. *Ferdinandus Rebellus* l. 8, de oblig. justitiæ, p. 2, q. 23, littera E 1.
11. *Franc. Sarmient* epis. l. 2, selector interpret. c. 3, n. 1.
12. *Valer. Reginald* in praxi fori pœnit. l. 25, c. ii. n. 209.
13. *Petr. Fons et Jo. Mornerus* lib. select. legum, c. de usura, p. 531.
14. *Jo. Bouch'* D. of Sorbon. usure ensevilie, l. 2.
15. *David a Manden* de Montibus, disc. 2.

Wee protest further herein that wee cannot find any one learned and approved author whatsoever, either in divinity or the civill law, that hitherto hath written any one word against them, who have written of them.

And which is most remarkable, these Mounts have beene now in the Low Countreys and in the Principality of Leige above 20 years, and in Italy above an hundred years, and yet they were never hitherto either detected or knowne to have committed the least fraude or abuse, nor any exaction above their due, or of any delinquencye whatsoever.

The remedijng of usury in those parts is most apparent. For in Italy all usury is hereby extirpated; and in the Low Countreys, whereas usurye was there permitted at six and a quarter, now the usurers would be glad to let out their moneys at four per centum, and yet can finde few or none that will take it. I will now only add a word or two of the practise and common proceeding in all Christendome except England, against those that are usurers, whereby it will be made more apparent that in the judgment of those beyonde the seas these are noe usurers. For an usurer or Lombard is branded with these six markes of infamy.

1. If he be a Preist hee is irregular.
2. They are not admitted to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.
3. Hee is not buried as a Christian in any church or churchyarde, but in some ditch.
4. His last will and testament is invalid.
5. Hee is neither admitted to come to confession,
6. Nor will they marry him to any woman, except hee first promise to

leave off from being a Lumbarde, and doe make restitution. These, and many others, are recited even by our owne divines that write of Usury. Those of the Mounts are not branded with any of the said markes, for they are admitted at any time to communicate, to goe to confession, to marry, and his will and testament is never called in question, standing valid, &c.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

SHEWING THAT BY THE POSITIONS AND TENENTS OF ALL OUR OWN DIVINES HERE IN ENGLAND, AND WHOE HAVE WRITTEN CONCERNING USURY, THESE MOUNTS ARE CLEERLY FREED FROM ALL PRACTISE OF USURY, AND THAT THEY MAKE NOE USURIOUS CONTRACTS.

The handling and examining of the opinions of our divines here in England is necessary to bee handled and discussed at large, for the satisfaction of divers whoe are not satisfied with what wee have produced (that is, neither with the decrees of Councell, nor with the approbations of soe many Popes, neither with the constant and unanimous consent of all the approved doctors and civillians beyond the seas,) they yet require the opinion of our divines alsoe. To satisfie whose scrupulosity (although it neede not) we have thought good to handle this in a sett chapter by itselke, yet with as much brevity as wee may conveniently.

And first, wee will produce the definitions of our divines, what usury is. I meane of such as have purposely handled and written any treatise of usury.

D. Fenton. Usury, saith hee, is a covenant of lucre for lending.

Mr. Perkins. Usurye is againe exacted by covenant above the principall, only in lieu and recompence of the lending of it.

D. Willett. This is the full definition of usurye, when as any thing cometh for the use of money above the principall by waye of contract or compact.

Mr. Bolton. Usury is a gaine above the principall, exacted meerely for leiw of lending.

And not to repeate every ones words,

Mr. Blaxton. In his treatise of usury condemned; *B. Jewell.* Upon the 1st of the Thessal.; *B. Downam.* Upon the 15th Psalme; *D. Powell.* In his

L. i. c. 3.
p. 15.
Upon the 8
Comm.
Upon Levit.
p. 625.

Private
disc. with
Mr. S. of
usury, p. 53.

positions of usury; *Mr. Moss.* In his arraignment and conviction of usury; *Mr. Rogers.* In his treatise of usury; *Mr. Smith.* In his first sermon of usury; all agree in the same definition and almost in the same words as is expressed by *Mr. Blaxton*, c. 1, p. 4.

Mr. Pie. Usury's spright conjured soe as by the opinion of all our divines (none excepted), that only is called usury when any gaine, or profit, or overplus whatsoever is exacted, taken, receaved, tacite or expressed, above the summe of money lent meerely for and in lieu and recompence of the lending of it.

Li. 1, c. 4,
§ 3, p. 19.

For as *Mr. Fenton* saith truly, 'That gaine or lucre which cometh not meerely for the loane is not usury. I say (saith hee) if it bee for other respective considerations and not meerly for the loane. Here now I frame this argument; whosoever lendeth out money without contracting, compacting, or expecting any gaine, profit, or overplus, for or by reason and in recompence of the loane of the same money lent, hee is noe usurer nor makes any usurious contracte. But these Mounts of Piety doe lende money out without contracting or expecting any gaine at all, or overplus, for or by reason of the loane or lending. Ergo, these Mounts are not usurers, nor make any usurious contract.

The major is proved before by the former definitions of all our divines, all joyning in one and the same definition.

The minor wee shall now make manifest both by the definition and practice of a Mount of Piety.

C. 1^o. fol. 5^o.

The definition of a Mount of Piety (which wee have before sett downe) I here againe repeat to refresh your memorie.

A Mount of Piety is a certaine place erected by publique authority, wherein a mass of money is deposited, ready to be lent out upon any pawne without profit, or gaine, or overplus whatsoever, except soe much only as (uppon true calculation) shall be founde necessary to save the Mount harmeless and for conservacion of the same.

Now I leave you to compare the definition of our Divines concerning usury with this definition of a Mount, and I suppose that there is not any man (that is not too much prejudicate) that can or will say that our divines, by their definitions of usury, doe taxe a Mount of Pietye to receive any

usury or make any usurious contracts whatever. There resteth only to prove our definition of a Mount to bee truly made and sett downe according to the daily practise of the same Mounts.

1. And first we will beginn with the charge that the Mount is at, and that the charges and disbursements of the Mounts which the Mounts have disbursed (and require to be repaid) are meerly and most necessary, and for the good and profitt of those that doe bring pawnes.

2. That the Mount in receaving these disbursements or moneys laid out, doth not receave any usurious interest or are thereby become usurers.

3. That these officers of the Mount, nor the Mount itselfe, doe receive any profitt, gaine, or overplus, more then the wages for these servants, and to the Mount nothing at all.

§ 1. *Of the necessary charges of the Mount, and such as are for the profitt and good of such as bring pawnes.*

1. The first, the greatest, most necessarye, and principall charge which the Mount disburseth and requireth to be repaid, is the summe of money taken upp at interest to make a stocke for the reliefe of those that are in want and doe bring pawnes. Now, seeing this store is most necessary (for otherwise those that are in want of money cannot be furnished) it must of necessitie bee taken upp at interest (at the first) for (as we said before) one only Mount here in London will require an hundred thousand pounce stock at the least, and where and how can wee expect soe much charitye as to have such a summe either freely given or freely lent, without paying of interest? The Mount of Brussells, in Brabant, (which citty is noe bigger then the liberties of Westminster only,) required £25,000 to bee taken upp at interest to make a stocke to sett it upp at the first beginning. London is three if not four times bigger then Westminster, and therefore will require three or four times as much to stock it (at the first), which cannot be less, therefore, then £100,000. The Mount requireth an overplus of the money it lends out, untill such tyme only as the interest and principall of this debt bee payd.

2. The Mount is at the charge of building of an house, which is a charge most necessary and requisite bothe for the conservacion and preservacion of

the goods pawned, and alsoe that there may bee one certaine place publique and knowne whither all may resort for the releife of their necessities; and, the house being once built, the satisfaction of this charge is noe more required.

3. Thirdly, that the servants and officers employed in and about the Mount may be payd their wages, which cannot bee esteemed but most necessary and most conscientious, seeing the Scripture saith the workeman is worthie of his hire.

4. The fourth and last, yea last charge is the keeping and repaying of the house of the Mount, all other charges being not of any great charge, or not reckoned, consisting only of buying of paper bookes, inke, penne, parchment, &c.

Soe as it is apparent that the charges of the Mount are meerly and most necessary, and therefore may with a safe conscience be demanded, and by the opinion of all our divines is not or ought any way to bee deemed usury, as wee shall proove in this paragraph followeing.

§ 2. *That the Mount, receaving an overplus for the dischargeing of these necessarye charges, doth not receive any usury or interest or doe become usurers in the opinion of our owne divines.*

Usurie
spright con-
jured, p. 7.

8 Psalm, 37,
21.
2 K. 4. 2.

ubi supra.

L. de Mu-
tineff. pro

D. Pye is express and direct in this point. First, saith hee, the demanding, recovering, and receaving of the principall is not usury; for, saith he, that is not *lucrum*, gaine, increase, or more then I layd out; and the not payeing of it is accounted sinn in the Holy Scripture, and therefore Helizeus did helpe the widdowe to pay it with a miracle.

Secondly, the money lent is but a part of the principall of the debt; for the principall debt comprehendeth and includeth all charges necessary whatsoever disbursed concerning the same, and thus much Mr. D. Pye confesseth in these expresse words, (and thereby doth free the Mount from usury,) sayeing, expences about payeing, recovering, or receaving of the principall, as for carying, fetching of the money, makeing of the assurances, costs and charges of suites, is noe usurie; for (quoteing of the civillians) saith hee, it is not gaine unless the charges be deducted; and (which is our very case) charges about the thing pawned or morgaged for assurance of the principall

(is likewise no usury), for that which the creditor layeth out for or about things assured increaseth the debt, and in all these cases hee saith there is no usury at all. socio in
gloss.

Moreover, you remember what I quoted before out of D. Fenton's, that the gaine or lucre which cometh not meerly for the loane is not usury. Li. 1, 3,
p. 10.

But this being the consonant and unanimous tenent of all our divines (none excepted) we shall not neede here to sett them downe in particuler; it resteth for this point (to give further satisfaction) to shew that whereas all our divines doe admitt of this recompence or satisfaction to bee both in law and conscience to bee allowed, soe it have six cautions to be remembred, which I will likewise proove every one of them to bee observed in our case, and the same D. Fenton, l. 3, c. 5, p. 127, thus adviseth, Soe let this covenant bee conditionall, if thou bee thus and thus damnified that then such and such satisfaction be made, this is equall and just interest but noe usury. These six cautions I will here apply in order as I finde them sett downe in Mr. Blaxton (the last of our divines whoe hath written of or against usury,) and taketh them out of our former divines whoe wrote before him. The Engl.
usu: or
usury con-
demned, 2,
2, p. 8.

1. That the interest bee esteemed not according to the gaine or benefitt which the borrower hath had by the imployment of the money, butt according to the hinderance or loss which the creditor susteined through the borrower's default.

The Mounts require only to bee saved harmless from all loss and damage, and will require noe more.

2. Secondly, that interest is not to bee demanded "nisi post moram," for till then, as others say, the borrower is not the effectual cause of the loss. Note, that this is putt downe in one case only of "damnum emergens," whereas upon lending moneys uppon a day, and the borrower keepeth it longer; but there are many cases more, and the rule is where there is a lawfull damnyfying yet there ought in those cases to bee a recompenceing interest allowed.

To this wee answer wee shew the damage and loss the Mount suffereth if not recompenced, and the Mount demandeth noe more recompence but according to the loss or damage.

3. Thirdly, That not alwaies after delay it is to bee required, but only then when the creditor hath indeede sustained loss or hinderance.

Wee have before shewed the great charge the Mount is at, how necessary those charges are and for the good of those that bring pawnes, wherefore the loss and damage (if not recompensed) is most apparent.

4. That the creditor do not voluntarily incurr any loss, meaneing to lay the same upon the borrower, but doe his endeavour to avoid the same.

The Mounts make noe voluntary loss or damage to lay it on the borrower, but it hath and is governed by an admirable pollicy to prevent all loss and damage, the charges whereof are not voluntarily imposed, but by necessity undergone, as hath beene manifested before.

5. Fifthly, That hee put a difference betwixt him that breaketh day through negligence and unfaithfulness, and him that breakes it through want and necessity which he did not foresee, for where noe fault is, there ought to be noe punishment.

This case concerneth him that breaketh a day certaine, and is not in our case, except it may concerne the sale of the pawnes which are not redeemed in a yeare and six weeks.

To that wee answer that every one that doth lett slipp all that tyme of redeeming or renewing his pawne, is one that is meerly negligent, and the fault is meerly his owne if his goods be sold. For,

i. The Mounts doe give the party that bringe the pawnes a bill wherein is sett downe the day, month, and yeare when such goods were layd to pawne, and for how much, soe as hee thereby knows when the yeare comes out.

ii. The Mounts putt up printed bills, six weekes before hande, in all publique places and upon every church doore, certifying that such a day and hower the pawnes of such a month shall be sold; soe as I say the fault is his owne if hee come not after either to redeeme or renew his bill, wherein may bee noted the mercy and charity of the Mounts to the poore that cannot redeeme their pawnes, being in the meane tyme decayd or otherwise become poore, for having payd the Mounts for six pence more they may renew their bill, and the Mount is bound thereby to keepe the pawne for another yeare, and soe if hee bee still unable, he may doe from yeare to yeare as long as hee pleaseth, or be content to have it sould.

6. Lastly, That the estimation of the interest bee not referred to the creditor's own arbitrement, but committed to the judgement of honest and discreet men.

This the Mounts doe alwaies. The publique state doth determine and proportion the same. Wee for our Mounts, here in England, demande noe more then what was and is allowed in Italy, the Low Countreys, and the Principality of Leidge, and the same rates to bee allowed here as was allowed there; being by experience found they could not bee sett up with less.

Such conditions as these (say our divines) being observed, it is lawfull for the creditor to require an overplus besides his principall, which overplus notwithstanding is not usury; and Mr. Bolton, of usury (against *jus*) saith, there is great difference betweene them, because in usury the lender intendeth and seeketh gaine by interest; or thus, the usurer seeketh by lending to bee a gainer; but the receaver of interest soe truly called, seeketh only to bee noe looser; and soe goeth on with divers other reasons and differences, whereof this is the last, that Usury is contrary to equity, conscience, and reason: Interest standeth with them all.

Mr. Blaxton, ubi sup. p. 9, p. 57.

Ibid.

§ 3. *That those that are employed in or about the Mount, nor the Mount itselfe, doe receive any profit, gaine, or overplus more than the wages of those servants, and the Mount itself nothing at all.*

Now if any man will yet persist that here is usury, then there must bee an usurer, I would aske of him whoe the usurer is: there are but two that can be suspected, either it must be that those that are employed in and about the Mount, or else the Mount itselfe; but if it be proved that neither of these doe receive or expect any such usurious gaine or profit for the loane of the money lent or otherwise, then it must be confessed that there is noe such usurious gaine or profit as is surmised.

First, concerning the officers. But heere some have whispered, saying, certainly there must bee some usury either open or palliate, for it is not likely these great and rich men (who are employed in and about the Mount) would not interest themselves in it, if there were not some usurious gaine or profit in it, at least in expectation.

Objection.

Answer.

The officers and servants, and whosoever is imployed in and about the Mount, whether you cast your eye upon those that are the chiefe and greatest, or to the meanest or lowest, all and every one of them receaveth his salary or wages certaine only, and have noe other profit or gaine in or by the Mount whatsoever. The lords themselves are officers (whether you call them superintendents, visitors, or overseers, or what you please), and doe take as much pains in their condition as the rest doe in their places. For these lords by their credits doe take up soe many thousand pound for the stocking of the house; they doe secure and provide merchants to supply the house at an hower's warning with 2, 3, 5, or £10,000 (if multitudes of pawnes bee brought in), soe that there may be a supply for the necessity of all comers. They likewise provide all the under officers, and looke every one doe putt in good security for the well and true executing of his place; moreover they see examined all the accompts of the house. They are by at the confronting of all their bookes, the one with the other, to the end if any difference be found, the loss may bee layd upon the delinquent and the Mount secured. Every month they must undergoe this paines, and be present at these examinacions, but in the stocke itselfe or in the overplus which is received above the money lent, they have noe share nor interest in it at all: how that is employed shall be truly and plainly shewed you in the next page following.

These officers, therefore (you now understand), doe but give order for the receiving in and paying out, and manage the moneye of the Mount, as officers only of the Mount; soe as they can noe more be esteemed usurers than the Lord Treasurer of England, whose by his officers doth manage the revenews of the Crowne, receiving of it in and paying it out. And as the Lord Treasurer doth not challenge any propriety in any part of the money received in, but the propriety thereof remaineth still in the King, the Lord Treasurer himselfe having only certaine fees for executing of the place: soe these overseers, superintendents, visitors, or what you will call them, doe give order to receive and pay out the moneys of the Mounts, the propriety still notwithstanding doth remaine to the Mount, which is as the Exchequer or the stock of such as stande in neede of money in the place where they are sett upp.

Now it remaineth that wee cleare the Mount itselfe from receiving any gaine, profitt, or overplus at all to itselfe, as wee have said in our definition of a Mount of Piety, except soe much only as upon true calculacion shall be necessary to supply only those necessary charges (which wee have before mentioned), which haveing demonstrated, there is nor will bee any colour left to lay any aspersion or tax upon the Mount that it either receaveth, expecteth, or favoureth any usury or maketh any usurious contract; and this I will proove likewise out of the positions of our divines, as I have done the former. I will only quote B. Downam*, and Mr. Blaxton,† all the rest agreeing with them in this maxime and quoted by him, That where there is neither a covenant nor intent of gaine in lending or forbearing there is noe usury, though there bee an overplus or increase received over and besides the principall.

Now that the Mount doth neither covenant nor hath any intent to gaine or profitt, I thus proove.

1. Whosoever letteth or lendeth out money, neither receavinge nor requiering more then what hee layd out and to save himselfe harmeless, cannot be said to have any intent or purpose to gaine or profitt. But the Mount requireth only what it layd out & to be saved harmelesse; ergo, the Mount cannot be said to desire to gaine or profitt to itselfe.

The major is confessed by B. Downam, Mr. Blaxton, and all the rest. The minor, although apparent enough by what wee have already sett downe, yet wee will insist further for more satisfaction, for some object againe, that certainly here is usury palliate; for that (say they) though you take noe usury for the loane, yet you take twice as much under color of indempnity, soe as it is true the benefice was cheape but the horse was dear. You will be of another opinion when you understand how a Mount is managed, and how the moneys received in are employed, which I premised before to doe, and now will doe my endeavour to performe as breifly as I can. The overplus of the money lent out, received in by the Mount, is thus employed. The first yeare to build an house, to pay the officers' wages, and soe much interest for the money taken upp as shall be due for that yeare. When the house is built, the overplus the next yeare dischargeth the officers' wages,

Objection.

Answer.

* On the 15 Psalm, p. 153.

† Engl. usurer, c. 1. p. 3.

the interest due for that yeare for the money taken upp; and whatsoever is above the satisfying of those charges, is payd over to the usurer to abate soe much of the principall as that comes to; and soe every yeare, after paying part of the principall as well as the whole interest, untill all the debt taken upp at interest bee fully satisfyed and paid: and thus the Mount hath gotten a stocke of its owne in perpetuitye. Here now this Mount, soe stocked, should stand at so low a rate as should serve only for officers' wages, repayring of the house, paper bookes, and parchment. But that this charity is not intended for London only, but that every shire of England may be furnished likewise with one or more Mounts according to its greatnesse. Therefore, now though the Mounts doe fall lower and lower, according as I sayd the charges grow less and less, yet you will confess it will be necessary to have some overplus to raise a stocke for another Mount in another place, and for one Mount to raise another untill all the shires of England be furnished (for I suppose you will not hold for good husbandry, or fitting, to take upp money at interest whensoever any new Mount is to bee sett upp); when all these are upp the Mount then requireth no further overplus, but only, as I said, to pay the officers' wages and reparacions, and thereby to keepe the stock entier; and that was our meaning when in the definition of the Mount wee did putt down these words. And for consideracion of the same: for yf the house its stocke should pay the officers' wages and receave noe overplus at all, the stocke must every yeare be diminished and at last drawn drye, and would have no more means to shewe any more charity, soe as now wee referr it to any man's conscience whether that any overplus be demanded by the Mounts meerly to gayne and profitt by, or whether rather it be not to defray the necessary charges of the Mount and to save them from loss and damage.

Although what is said may bee sufficient, yet by two actions more which the Mount practiseth being but shewed, will confirme any man that when the Mount is satisfyed for its disbursements and necessary charges paid, that it hath noe purpose to gayne or profitt at all.

The first is, that the Mounts still doe fall lower and lower and take less of the subject, according as the charges doe growe lesse and less, untill it stande at so much only as serve to pay servants' wages and reparacion of the house; whereas if it did intend to gayne and profitt itselfe, it would imitate the Lombards and Brokers, whoe still stand at one rate, yf not rise, but never fall to any lower proportion.

2. The second is, that when as the sales of the pawnes (not redeemed) are made, the overplus above the money lent and the interest for that yeare is registered and reserved for any that doth bring the bill and demande the same, because the Mounts (takeing no forfeitures), this overplus belongeth to the party that pawned it, his executors or assigns, &c. Now suppose the bill be perished, together with the party that pawned the goods, or through forgetfulness or negligence, &c. none doth come to claime or demande this overplus. Here in such cases might the Mount conceale and keepe this overplus if it did respect gaine and profit; but the Mounts have noe such intention, for if none come within a yeare or two (as it is limited) after the sale, the officers are sworne not to add it to the stocke, but to give it to the cheife magistrates of the place where that Mount is sett upp, to distribute it to the poore of that place.

Now to conclude; this pious, godly, and religious course to relieve those that are yong setters upp, merchants, and all sorts of poore or indigent people, hath beene long desired, even in our Commonwealth, who have seene the practise of them beyond the seas, yea even some of our owne divines, that such houses as these might bee heere sett up in England.

But hitherto none have laid any ground work or platforme, excepting only two of our owne merchants, Gerarde Malines, who understoode the name only of a Mount, but is farr too short to express its nature; the other is Mr. Edward Misselden, in his treatise which he entitleth *Free Trade*, or the meanes to make trade flourish, wherein he would faine project such a plott as this, wherein a stocke might bee raised, both for London and in the countrey, where much poore depend on clothing, &c.; hereby the poore might be from tyme to tyme supplied for a small consideracion. Last of all, I will produce one of our own divines, one of the learnedest, and who hath laboured and written as much and as fully as any other. Hee, it seemeth, had read the civilians' workes beyond the seas, and finding in them this project of the Mounts, did seriously wish they were sett upp alsoe heere in England, for these are his words expressing our case.

His Lex
mercatoria,
c. 13.

c. 7, p. 118.

The last sort, of midling fortune, or yong beginners who make a poore shift, but are scarce able to manage their trade for want of money. Now wee are come to the proper object of the second worke of charity. For as free gift and almes belong to such people as are not able to repay any thing

D. Fenton
of usury,
l. 2, c. 15,
p. 104, § 4.

backe againe, soe free lending belongeth to such as these : heere is place for bankes of charity, that tradesmen may have free use of money, only paying the officers' fees, which is not usury.

p. 43.

I could prove further (if neede required), free the house from usury by and for the same reasons that merchants' negotiations is freed by Mr. Bolton and others, even the most of the aforementioned, viz. 1, because of necessary cost ; 2, industrie ; 3, hazard. All which is likewise considerable in our Mounts :—1, cost and charge hath before been declared ; 2, industry in manageing of these Mounts by the officers after an admirable and politicall manner ; 3, the Mounts are at great hazard, not onely in warranting, but alsoe in preserving the goods pawned, not only from theefes, but they are alsoe bound to keepe them from all loss or spoyle, except it be by warr or fier.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

CERTAYN CONSIDERACIONES UPON THE STATUTE OF 21 JACOBI, OF USURY.

1. Usury is a spirituall case, and therefore what is usury and what not, ought to be decided. If not by the civill lawe, yet at least by our divines, and the doctrine heere receaved and approved ; but both civillians and our divines doe, as appeareth by what is sett downe in the fift and sixt chapters precedent, declare and pronounce the Mounts not to receive or practise any usury at all. And therefore if they bee noe usurers, they are not nor can be comprehended within the statute of 21 Jacobi, or of any other statute of usury whatsoever.

2. Wee have before proved heer is noe usurer to be found. For in the sixth chapter, we have proved that neither any imployed in or about the Mount, noe nor the Mount itselfe, are either usurers or make any usurious contracts, and therefore are not within the statute of 21, or any other statute of usury whatsoever.

3. Thirdly, the intention of the statute was farr from condemning of Mounts of Piety ; for it endeavours to put downe impiety, and did endeavour to restrain those that would doe evill from doing of it ; but it never intended to forbid or restraine any from doing good, especially such as consecrate their endeavours "ad bonum publicum."

4. If these Mounts be rejected, the poore may justly crie out and expostulate whie they should bee deprived of soe great a good, seeing they are deprived by reason of mistakeing the meaneing of the statute ; for the statute setteth itself against those that make usurious contracts, but these Mounts doe make none, as hath been proved. Therefore the very same statute doth in express words condemne the exchange of money, which merchants doe dayly use and practise, wherby they take 20 or 30 in the hundred, and yet these are tollerated "*pro bono publico*" and for the maintenance of tradeing. The like wee might alledge concerning the pre-emptors of the Cornish tinn, and of divers others. And although, as I said, these be tollerated "*pro bono publico*," yet in these any man may perceive there is "*commodum privatum*," which no man can object against the Mounts.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

SHEWEING OUT OF THE PREMISES THE GREAT BENEFITTS ARISEING BY
THESE MOUNTS HERE TO BE ERECTED IN ENGLAND.

And, first, what commodities and benefitts will arise by the erection of these Mounts to every man in particular.

1. There will bee one certaine house or place whither all those, rich or poore, that want money may resort, and every one's necessity shall be supplied, of whatsoever summe they want, whether it be great or little.

2. Every man's goods pawned shall be warranted and preserved from all loss and spoyle, except it be by war or fier.

3. Noe man's pawne shall be subject to any forfeiture, for the pawnes being sold, the overplus of the principall and the Mounts (that is, the interest) shall bee restored unto him that pawned them, or to his executors or administrators, &c.

4. Every one that pawneth his goods shall have a bill in writeing, conteyning the day, month, and yeare when such goods were pawned, and for how much, soe as, if they dye, their executors or administrators may take notice thereof and redeeme them at their pleasure.

5. If any goods be stolne, they may repayre to the Mount and give notice of the markes, and soe the thieves are discovered and apprehended and the goods recovered.

6. Every man heere may (as in Bankes) have a rent for their moneys, either for yeares, life, or lives.

7. If any man have occasion to travell beyond the seas, or to be long in the countrey, haveing apparell, houshold stuff, &c. which he desireth might be safe kept untill his returne and not spoyld, hee may lay them in the Mount, and take as little as they please, whereby the interest at his returne may not be much; his goods are in security and warranted from all loss and spoyle for a whole yeare, or for divers years, if hee leave his bill in his absence with any freind that will renew it.

8. Even at the first setting upp of the Mounts (when they receive most), noe man shall pay to them the halfe of that they now pay to the Brokers, and at last not above two or three farthings the month.

9. Any noble man, gentleman, or merchant that would not have his necessities knowne, and yet desires to be speedily furnished with two, three, four, or five hundred pounds more then any broker or usurer is able to furnish them withall, hee may only send his man or friend to the Mount with plate, jewells, cloths, or silkes, &c. and there in an howre hee shall be dispatched, without bribeing of scriveners, troubleing or being beholden to suerties, makeing of bonds and counterbonds, and, which is worse of all, if hee goe to a Broker, his pawne is subject to be either lost, lent out, spoyled, or forfeited.

10. Every man may heere have letters of exchange from one Mount to another, and by consequence from one shire or towne unto another, whereby their moneys shall not be endangered either to be robbed by theeves, or to trust such servants and friends to carry it as many times are little to be trusted.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

SHEWEING THE BENEFITTS AND COMMODITYES WHICH EVERY SHIRE, CITY, TOWNE, OR PLACE IN PARTICULAR SHALL RECEIVE BY THE ERECTION OF THESE MOUNTS.

1. In every citty or town where these Mounts are erected, that place shall have a stocke in perpetuitye for poore householders and tradesmen, or

any in necessity of money, paying only soe much as serves for officers' wages.

2. The building of the house and offices belonging unto the Mounts will not only be an ornament but an inheritance alsoe unto that citty or place where it is sett upp.

3. Noe man in any place where these Mounts are erected, shall be prejudiced or hindered, because it is not required that any Broker or any other should be putt downe; but it shall be lawfull for every man that will soe take pawnes and exercise their trades as formerly they have done.

4. After the first yeare, those of the Mount selling of their goods pawned (and not redeemed, nor their bills renewed) at an out crie to the highest offerer. This commodity ariseth unto that citty or towne, yea to that whole shire, that if any of that shire, citty, or towne doe want either clothes, jewells, plate, brass, pewter, household stuffe, or whatsoever is there to be sold, they may bee there furnished. And this sale is once every quarter, and notice thereof is given by printed bills, sett upp in publique places six weekes before hand.

5. If any whose goods are sold, himselfe nor none else comeing in a yeare or two to demand the overplus of such moneys as are due to him (which is whatsoever it was sold for, deducting the principall and interest), then this overplus is given to the cheife magistrate of that citty, towne, or place to be distributed to the poore of the same place where the Mounts are.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

SHEWEING THE COMMODITIES AND BENEFITTS WHICH THE COMMON-WEALTH AND HIS MAJESTIES SUBJECTS IN GENERALL SHALL RECEAVE BY THE ERECTION OF THESE MOUNTES.

1. First, it will bring downe the horrible usury now practised by the practise of a contrary vertue, as it hath beene seene and found by experience to have extirpated it in Italy and now almost in the Low Countries and principality of Leige.

2. These Mounts haveing beene sett upp and practised for the space of

one hundred years past, they are now universally knowne and reputed for places of great security and fidelity in keeping and preserveing of such money and goods as are there layd upp, wherby the rich merchants or monied men of other neighbouring countreys (now in combustion) will be allured to bring over into this kingdome all their wealth and substance, where they are sure to find peace and security. And soe, by this meanes, the riches of other countreys shall be transported hither, which will cause both aboundance of coyne, both of gold and silver, as alsoe an augmentation of tradeing and traffiking.

3. These Mounts will bee a certayne meanes of keeping of the coyne, both of gold and silver, within the kingdome, seeing every Mount in every shire must have alwaies a stocke in readiness, consisting of divers thousand pounds.

4. By the erection of these Mounts a great abuse shall bee taken away, viz. the dayly multiplying of such as doe take pawnes. For now any man that will take pawnes is permitted and not questioned, and these are farr greater usurers then the Brokers themselves, and doe much more oppress his Majesties subjects.

5. The erection of these Mounts will bee a great means to extinguish the greatest part of those that are the receaveurs of stolne goodes.

6. Divers merchants and rich men that knowe not how speedily and certainly to take up five, or six, or £800, or £1000, are compelled to transport their goods to Holland, and the Archduke's countrey, or Italy, where these Mounts or the Lombards are, to their great loss of time, charge, and hazard, besides trouble; all which shall be remedied and have means certayne for their supply by these Mounts, when they shall be erected heere in England.

7. Another very great abuse shall be taken away which concerneth the servants of common usurers and Brokers, and of such as doe take pawnes and yett are noe Brokers; for these prentises or servants are practised and brought up in this usurious trade, thereby corrupting the consciences of his Majesties subjects, and soe in effect inviteing and compelling them to become ill members of the common wealth. And the number of these (if they were looked into) would be found to amount to divers hundreds if not thousands within the city of London only.

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

THE BENEFITTS ARISEING TO HIS MAJESTY IN PARTICULAR.

1. His Majesty will save thirty or forty thousand pounds a yeare which he now doth disburse back—i. when as those merchants that have imported goods and payd the custome at the custome house, for these merchants not finding present vent for their goods, nor being able (as aforesaid) to take upp soe much money as their necessity requireth, they are compelled to export them to some place where these Mounts are, at the exportation whereof his Majestie doth repay back againe to the Merchants that which before he had receaved for the importation thereof, which moneys the King shall not neede to repay if the merchants may find Mounts in England to supplie their wants as well as in forreine partes.

2. Tradeing and traffique increasinge (as is before demonstrated) his Majesties customes by consequence will encrease alsoe.

CHAPTER THE TWELFTH.

WHEREIN ARE ANSWEARED CERTAYNE OBJECTIONS WHICH MAY
BE MADE.

Whie should the poore pay as much as the rich ?

Object. 1.

None payeth any thing in the Mount but according to the pawne they doe bring in. The rich bringing more in and greater pawnes, doe pay more, and the poore bringeing less pawnes doe pay less.

Answ.

Yet there is but one rate both for poor and rich.

Object. 2.

True, for the Mount respects not any man's quality but his necessity, not his wealth, but his wants, for it promiseth to supply every man with moneye that stands in neede of money. And a rich man may be indigent and want money as well as a poore man ; for Tobias was held to bee as well charitable in lending his money unto Gabelus (although richer then hee) when he wanted it, as when he buried the deade, and did feede the poore Israelites his countrymen at his table ; according to that of the Psalmist, A good man sheweth favour and lendeth : and St. Luke, Doe good and lende.

Answ.

Psal. 112, 5.
Luk. c. 6,
v. 35.

Object. 3. Whie should these in present pay soe much, when as those that come after us shall pay almost nothing. This will bee indeed a great benefitt and a great ease to those that doe succede, but this is a great burthen unto us that now are to pay it in present.

Ans. 1. It is and ever hath beene allowed that in all things which are "pro bono publico," those in present should pay and contribute to the whole charge without expecting of future assistance, for otherwise how can any businesse for the publique good, be either begun or perfected, for wee may reade and observe whensoever any churches, bridges, towne-houses, or fortificationes are to be made, or common ditches to be be cutt, &c. Those in present are charged with the whole expence and not they which succede; and whie not for the erection of a Mount, which is as necessary and as charitable a worke, and for the publique good, as most of the rest.

Here is noe such burthen uppon those in present as gives any true cause of murmuring. For 1, heere is noe newe tax demanded or imposed; 2, none doe contribute to the Mount but those that doe receave benefitt by the Mount; 3, and that which is receaved of them is not the halfe of that which they now pay voluntarily to the Broker; 4, and that which the Mount receaves is for their benefit and commodity, and not to enrich either itself or any man in particuler.

Object. 4. 1. But this will put downe and undoe the Brokers.

Ans. Noe, for this project setts itselfe against them not as they be Brokers, but as they are Bankers; for a Broker is a trade whoe buyes old clothes to sell againe. To be a Banker and to lend money uppon pawnes is noe trade, nor a company; and whie then may not others lend money upon pawnes as well as they, seing they doe not take any usurious interest for the loane?

2. But even the Brokers or Bankers whatsoever have noe cause to complaine, for they are not putt downe, but may exercise their brokerage still yf they will, or if any man will come unto them.

XXIV. *Letter containing Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Court and Nobility, at the commencement of the year 1454; accompanied by some Remarks, addressed by Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H. F.R.S. F.S.A. to JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq., Director S.A.*

Read 24th Feb. 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

British Museum, 18th Feb. 1842.

THE want of contemporary documents to illustrate the complicated events produced by the feuds of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, during the agitated reign of Henry the Sixth, has been a subject of complaint with more than one of our historians. Every portion, therefore, of information, derived from original sources, which enables us to obtain a clearer insight into the transactions of that period, must be considered as valuable, and should be placed on record. With this view it is, that I beg to lay before the Society, by your hands, the copy of a paper preserved among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, No. 914, which contains some notices of circumstances hitherto unknown to our annalists, and is also of considerable interest from the light it throws on the state of the adverse parties at the beginning of the year 1454.

The paper in question is a Letter, containing intelligence privately collected by certain persons, who appear to have belonged to the household of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, one of the most powerful of the Yorkist lords; and was transmitted to him, in order that he should know what was passing in London and elsewhere, before he came to join his associates in the metropolis. It is written on a single sheet, measuring $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $11\frac{1}{4}$ in width, and bears the water-mark of a crown; the same which is engraved by Sir John Fenn, in vol. i. of the Paston Letters^a (badge plate,

^a The history of these Letters is curious, and it is deeply to be regretted that the originals should have so strangely disappeared. They remained in the Paston family till the death

No. 5). The Letter not being signed by the parties, it is, probably, not the original sent, but is undoubtedly a contemporary copy; and it would seem to be imperfect at the commencement. This class of documents, it is obvious, must be, from the nature of their contents, exceedingly rare, since they were usually destroyed, to secure the safety of the writers; and with the exception of some among the Paston Correspondence, it is believed that few have been preserved, which can be compared, in historical interest, with the one now brought before the notice of the Society.

Of the history of this document, previous to its being placed among the National Collections, I have but little to state. On the dors is written in an old, but by no means a coeval hand, "News de H. 6," and as early as the seventeenth century it must have narrowly escaped destruction, for it was then doubled in halves so as to form the fly-leaves of a book, and on the blank side appear numerous idle scribblings made at that time. With the exception, however, of the commencement (which related, probably, to the Duke's private affairs), and of a few words destroyed by the fold in the paper, the Letter is in good preservation, and first came to light in the remarkable

of the second Earl of Yarmouth of that name, in 1732, when they came into the possession of Peter le Neve, Norroy, and subsequently into the hands of Thomas Martin, of Palgrave, the well-known collector and antiquary. After his decease, which took place in 1771, they were sold by his widow to an apothecary of Diss, in Norfolk, named Worth; from whom, in 1774, they came to Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Fenn, of East Dereham. This gentleman made a selection from the mass, which he printed in 2 vols. 4to. 1787; and so interesting did the contents appear to the public, that a second edition was very shortly called for. In an advertisement prefixed to this second edition, the editor states, that the originals of the letters had been deposited in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, for general inspection. In 1789 two additional volumes appeared, containing a further selection from the correspondence, in the preface to which we are informed, that whilst the letters were in the library of the Society, it was intimated to the owner, that the King (George III.) had a wish to inspect them. They were accordingly sent to "the Queen's palace," with a request from Sir John Fenn that his Majesty would accept them; to which request, adds the editor, "a most gracious answer was returned, and *they are now in the Royal Library.*" From that time to this they have never been heard of! They did not come to the British Museum as part of the library of George the Third, and all inquiries to ascertain if they are at Windsor have proved fruitless. It only remains to be added, that a fifth volume containing letters of a later period, which had been prepared by Sir John Fenn for the press, was given to the public in 1823, by Mr. Sergeant Frere, Master of Downing College, Cambridge, who states that he was unable to find the originals.

sale of English historical documents belonging to the late Craven Ord, Esq. in 1829, where it was purchased by Mr. Thorpe, the bookseller, from whom it has recently been procured for the Museum.

I here subjoin an accurate transcript of the Letter in question.

* * * * *

As touchyng tythynges, please it you to wite, that at the Princes comyng to Wyndesore, the Duc of Buk' toke hym in his armes, and presented hym to the Kyng in godely wise, besechyng the Kyng to blisse hym; and the Kyng yaue no maner answe're. Natheles the Duk abode stille w^t the Prince by the Kyng; and whan he coude no maner answe're haue, the Queene come in, and toke the Prince in hir armes, and presented hym in like fourme as the Duke hade done, desiryng th^t he shuld blisse it; but alle their labour was in veyne, for they departed thens w^tout any answe're or countenaunce, sauynge onely th^t ones he loked on the Prince, and caste doune his eyene ayen, w^tout any more.

Itñi, the Cardynalle hathe charged and commaunded alle his seruauantz to be redy w^t bowe and arwes, swerd and bokeler, crossebowes, and alle other habillementes of werre, suche as thei kun medle w^t, to awaite vpone the saufgarde of his persone.

Itñi, therle of Wiltshire and the lord Bonvile haue done to be cryed at Tauntone, in Somerset shire, th^t euery man th^t is likly, and wole go w^t theym, and serue theym, shalle haue vi^d. euery day, aslonge as he abidethe w^t theym.

Itñi, the Duk of Excestre in his owne persone hathe ben at Tuxforthe, beside Dancastre, in the Northe contree, and there the lord Egremont mette hym, and thei ii. ben sworne to-gider, and the Duke is come home agein.

Itñi, therle of Wiltshire, the lord Beaumont, Ponynges, Clyfford, Egremont, and Bonvyle, maken alle the puissance they kan and may, to come hider w^t theym.

Itñi, Thorp of thescheker articulethe fast ayenst the Duke of York, but what his articles ben, it is yit vnknowene.

Itñi, Tresham, Josep, Danyelle, and Trevilian have made a bille to the lordes, desiryng to have a garisone kept at Wyndesore, for the saufgarde of

the Kyng and of the Prince, and th^t they may haue money for wages of theym and other, th^t shulle kepe the garysone.

Itm, the Duc of Buk' hathe do to be made Mⁱ Mⁱ bendes w^t knottes; to what entent, men may construe as their wittes wole yeve theym.

Itm, the Duke of Somersetes herbergeour hathe taken vp alle the loggyng th^t may be gotene nere the Toure, in Thamystrete, Marclane, Seint Katerine's, Tourehille, and there aboute.

Itm, the Queene hathe made a bille of v. articles, desiryng those articles to be graunted; whereof the first is, th^t she desirethe to haue the hole reule of this land; the second is, th^t she may make the Chaunceller, the Tresorere, the Priue Seelle, and alle other officers of this land, w^t Shireves and alle other officers th^t the Kyng shuld make; the third is, th^t she may yeve alle the bisshopriches of this land, and alle other benefices longyng to the Kynges yift; the iiijth is, th^t she may haue suffisant lyvelode assigned hir for the Kyng, and the Prince, and hir self. But as for the vth article, I kan not yit knowe what it is.

Itm, the Duke of York wole be at Londone iustly on Fryday next comyng [25th Jan.] at night, as his owne men tellen, for certain, and he wole come w^t his houshold meynee clenly beseen, and likly men. And therle of Marche comethe w^t hym, but he wille haue another felishiþ of gode men, th^t shalle be at Londone before hym th^t he is come, and suche jakkes, salettes, and other herneys, as his meyne shulle haue, shalle come to Londone w^t hem, or before hem in cartes. The Erle of Salesbury wille be in Londone on Monday [21st Jan.] or Tywesday next comyng, w^t seven score knyghtes and squyers, besides other meynee. The Erles of Warwyk, Richemond, and Pembroke comene w^t the Duke of Yorke, as it is seide, eueryche of theym w^t a godely felishiþ. And natheles therle of Warwyk wole haue Mⁱ men awaityng on hym, beside the felishiþ th^t comethe w^t hym, as ferre as I can knowe. And as Geffrey Poole seithe, the Kynges bretherne ben like to be arested at their comyng to Londone, yf thei come.

Wherefore it is thought by my lordes seruauantz and welwillers here, th^t my lord at his comyng hider shalle come w^t a gode and clenly felishiþ, suche as is likly, and accordyng to his estate to haue aboute hym. And their herneys to come in cartes, as my lord of Yorkes mennes herneys did the last

terme, and shalle at this tyme also. And ouer th^t, th^t my lord haue another gode felishiþ to awaite on hym, and to be here afore hym, or els sone after hym, in like wise as other lordes of his blode wole haue.

And for the more redynesse of suche felishiþ to be hade redy, th^t my lord send sadde and wise messagers to his seruauntz and tenauntz in Sussex and elsewhere, th^t they be redy at Londone ayenst his comyng, to awaite on my lord; but lete my lord beware of writyng of lettres for theym, lest the lettres be deliuered to the Cardynalle and lordes, as one of my lordes lettres was now late, for perille th^t myght falle, for th^t lettre hathe done moche harme, and no gode.

And as for suche tydynge as ben contened in the lettre sent home by John Sumptermane, I can nat hiderto here the contrarie of any of theym, but th^t euery man th^t is of thopynione of the Duke of Somerset makethe hym redy to be as stronge as he kan make hym. Wherfore it is necessarie th^t my lord loke wele to hym self, and kepe hym amonge his meyne, and departe not from theym, for it is to drede, lest bussshementes shuld be leide for hym. And yf that happed, and my lord came hiderward, as he hathe bene vsed for to come, he myght lightly be deceyued and betrapped, th^t God defende. And therefore lete my lord make gode wacche, and be sure.

The Duke of Somerset hathe espies goyng in euery lordes hous of this land; som gone as freres, som as shipmene takene on the sea, and som in other wise, whiche reporte vnto hym alle th^t thei kan see or here touchyng the said Duke. And therfor make gode wacche, and beware of suche espies.

And as touchyng the priuee seale and my lordes seurtee. It is necessarie th^t my lord be aduertised, th^t yf the Chaunceller or any other make any questione to my lord of his comyng, contrarie to the teneur of the seid priuee sealle, th^t my lord by his grete wisdom make answere, th^t he was credibly enfourmed, th^t aswele the Duke of Somerset beyng prisoner, as other beyng at large, holdyng his opynyone, ayenst the wele of the Kyng and of the land, made grete assemblees and gaderynges of people, to mayntene thopinione of the said Duke of Somerset, and to distrusse my lord. And th^t the comyng of my lord in suche fourme as he shalle come, is onely for the saufgarde of his owne persone, and to none other entent, as my lord hym self can sey moche better than any that is here kan aduertise hym.

Thise thinges aforseid ben espied and gadred by my lord Chaun (*sic*)

John Leuenthorp̃, Laurence Leuenthorp̃, Maister Adam, William Medwe, Robert Alman, John Colvyle, Richard of Warderobe, and me, John Stodeley. And as sone as we kun knowe any more in substance, we shalle send home word. Writene at Londone, [Saturday] the xix. day of Janyuere [1453-4].

On the dors of the paper is added :

The meire and merchauntz of Londone, and the mair and merchauntz of the Staple of Caleys, were w^t the Chaunceller on Monday last passed [14th Jan.] at Lamhithe, and compleyned on the lord Bonvile, for takyng of the shippes and godes of the Flemmynges and other of the Duke of Burgoynes lordships. And the Chaunceller yave theym none answer to their plesyng, wherfore the substaunce of theym w^t one voys cryed alowde, Justice ! Justice ! Justice ! wherof the Chaunceller was so dismayed, that he coud ne myght no more sey to theym, for fere.

To understand better the contents of the preceding paper, it may be requisite to add some brief remarks on each paragraph.

1. It will be recollected, that the unfortunate malady of Henry the Sixth, which deprived him for a time both of mental and corporeal powers, began about October, 1453, and was the immediate cause of that change in the administration of affairs, which placed the Duke of York and his party uppermost in the state. It was soon after this affliction fell on the sovereign, that his only son, Prince Edward, was born at Westminster, on the 13th October ; who was alike ill-fated, both in the period of his birth (aggravated by the sinister reports^b spread abroad, that he was " chaungyd in the cradell"), and in the premature death that subsequently awaited him. The King remained at Windsor, and in the January following, as appears by the interesting statement given us in the above Letter, the infant Prince, then about three months old, was presented to his father for the first time ; apparently, in the hope that a ray of reason might return to the King's mind on beholding his child. But all was in vain, and the Queen and the Duke of Buckingham were obliged to leave the afflicted monarch, without any sign of recognition having been given.

^b Fabyan, p. 628, ed. 1811.

This scene, evidently drawn from the life, is minutely confirmed by the account given in one of the Paston Letters, of the interview between the King and the Prince shortly after the former had recovered his senses, in January, 1454-5, in which it is stated, that the Queen brought the Prince to him, and he asked, "what the Prince's name was?" and the Queen told him Edward; and then he held up his hands, and thanked God therof. And he said, *he never knew til that tyme, nor wist not, what was said to him, nor wist not where he had be, whils he hath be seke, til now.*"^c

2. The Cardinal here spoken of was John Kempe, a man who had successively risen from the sees of Rochester, Chichester, and London, to be Archbishop of York, and at length, Chancellor, Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury. He was made Cardinal 18th Dec. 1439, and on 31st Jan. 1449-50, was appointed Chancellor, on the retirement of Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, after whose death he succeeded to the primacy by papal bull, dated 21st July, 1452. He came into political power after the fall of the Duke of Suffolk, and maintained, jointly with the Duke of Somerset, the Queen's party until his death, which took place 22d March,^d 1453-4, two months after the Letter before us was written. His fear of the Yorkists at this period, is apparent from his ordering all his retainers to arm; and the dislike in which he was held by the York party, may be gathered from the epithet applied to him by a writer of that side, in Feb. 1453-4, of the "*cursed Cardinale*."^e Perhaps the last public act of his life was that recorded on the Parliament Rolls, where he is said, on the 13th March, nine days before his decease, to have shewed the Lords the jeopardy of Calais.^f By his removal, the Yorkists became, for a time, supreme.

3. James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, appears to have always been an adherent of the Lancastrians, and was selected, with the Duke of Buckingham and others, as bail for the imprisoned Duke of Somerset, in Feb. 1454-5.^g

^c Fenn, vol. i. p. 80, dat. Greenwich, 10 Jan. 1454-5.

^d Turner says 23d March, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. iii. p. 178, ed. 8°. 1830, from too hasty an inspection of Rolls Parl. v. 240. In vol. iii. 164, he says *February*, but this is probably a mere slip of the pen.

^e Fenn, vol. iii. p. 178. His death is mentioned in the same place, but the editor has falsely assigned the letter to 1452-3, instead of 1453-4.

^f Rolls Parl. v. 240.

^g Rymer, xi. 361.

He was present at the first battle of St. Alban's, 22d May, 1455; defeated with the Earl of Pembroke, by the Yorkists at Mortimer's Cross, in March, 1461, and in the same month, taken prisoner at Towton field, beheaded, and his head set on London bridge.^b His confederate, William, Lord Bonville, is noticed in history as engaged in a contest with the Earl of Devonshire at Taunton, in 1451 and 1455.ⁱ From the mention of him in the Letter before us, he would seem to have sided with the Lancastrians in 1454; but he subsequently became a follower of the White Rose, and was so disliked by the Queen (perhaps in consequence of his deserting her party), that, after the second battle of St. Alban's, in Feb. 1460-1, she ordered him to be beheaded, although a promise had been previously made by Henry VI. to spare his life.

4. This account of the young Duke of Exeter (Henry Holland) being implicated with the Earl of Egremont in the disorders of the northern districts, is corroborated by many entries in the Privy Council Book of the period;^k and in June, 1454, the Duke of York, then Protector, thought it expedient to proceed against them in person. The Earl of Exeter being compelled to fly, sought refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster,^l whence he was removed as a prisoner to Pomfret and Wallingford castles.^m It is remarkable, that although closely allied to the house of York, having married Anne, sister of Edward IV., yet he always adhered to the Lancastrian side, and was wounded at the battle of Barnet, in 1471. After this, he escaped abroad, and the period of his death is uncertain.

5. With regard to the Lancastrian Lords here mentioned, it is only necessary to observe as follows:—Viscount Beaumont was killed at the battle of Northampton, in July, 1460. Sir Henry Percy, Lord Poynings (in right of his wife) was warden of the East Marches, and became Earl of Northumberland on his father's death at St. Alban's, in 1455. He was himself killed at Towton, 29th March, 1461. Thomas, Lord Clifford (the father of the ruthless noble who stabbed young Rutland to death) was slain also at St. Alban's

^b Fenn, iv. 4.

ⁱ *Rolls Parl. v.* 332, *Privy Council Books*, vi. p. lxxviii. For his previous history, see Sir H. Nicolas's *Journal of Beckington*, p. 107.

^k Vol. vi. 130, 179, 189.

^l Fenn, i. 77.

^m *Privy Council Books*, vi. 218, 234.

in 1455. He is one of those selected by Shakspeare as a prominent supporter of King Henry VI. Thomas Percy, Earl of Egremont (third son of Henry, Earl of Northumberland), has been alluded to before as the chief actor in those turbulent scenes occasioned by the feud with the house of Neville. In 1457 he was taken prisoner, and placed in Newgate, but effected his escape shortly after,ⁿ and was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460.

6. This Thomas Thorpe was one of the leading instruments of the Queen and Somerset, and, in consequence, peculiarly obnoxious to the Yorkists. He appears to have been a man of a persevering and intriguing spirit, as may be seen by the frequent notices of his actions in the Rolls of Parliament. He was one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and in 1453 was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. In September of that year he was found guilty in damages of £1,000, and committed to the Fleet prison, in an action brought against him by the Duke of York, for taking away certain goods and chattels belonging to him, deposited in the palace of the Bishop of Durham.^o It is this transaction, no doubt, that the writer of the Letter before us refers to. In the ensuing February, 1453-4, the Commons petitioned for his release, but were opposed by the Duke himself in the House of Lords, and they were obliged to choose another Speaker in his place. Stowe states, that he was in the first battle at St. Alban's,^p and he was one of the persons afterwards charged in parliament, together with the Duke of Somerset and William Joseph, of having concealed the letter addressed by the Yorkist Lords to the King, previous to the action,^q and thereby having been the cause of the first blood shed between the rival parties. He was subsequently in the field at Northampton, taken prisoner, "disguysed in a monkes apparell, with a shauen crowne," and confined in Newgate and the Mar-

ⁿ Fabian, p. 632. ^o Rolls Parl. v. 239. ^p Annals, p. 400, ed. 1615.

^q This letter, dated 30th May, 1455, is printed in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. v. p. 280, together with the letter from the same Lords to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 21st May. Sir John Fenn was not aware of this, when he again printed the letter to the King, in the Paston Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 178. Contemporary copies of both letters are preserved in the Add. MS. 11,301, Brit. Mus. (from Craven Ord's sale, in 1829). It may be added, that Whethamstede gives a Latin translation of the first letter in his Chronicle, p. 370, ed. Hearne, 1732.

shalsea; and finally ended his career by having his head struck off in Haryngay (Hornsey) park, Middlesex.^r

7. The Tresham here mentioned, was, no doubt, Thomas Tresham, called "late of Sywell, co. North^{on}, knight," who was at the battle of Towton, in 1461.^s He was attainted in the 12 Edw. IV., but subsequently restored. William Joseph was one of the personal attendants on King Henry, and was deprived of office in 1455.^t Thomas Danyelle was esquire of the body to the King, and is alluded to in some satirical verses written in 1450, on the followers of the Duke of Suffolk.

Who but *Danyel* 'Qui Lazarum' shall synge,
For Jack Nape soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige*?^u

He is included among those whom the Commons desired to be removed for misbehaviour, in Apr'l, 1451.^x He was subsequently knighted, and had a grant of the constablership of Rising, co. Norfolk. John Trevilian was likewise esquire of the body, and usher of the king's chamber, and is alluded to also in some other satirical verses, written about 1449.

The *Cornysshe chawghe* offt with his trayne,
Hath made our Egull (*i. e.* the King) blynde.^z

In the petition for his dismissal (with Danyelle and others), he is called "late of London, esquire."

8. Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, seems to have vacillated between the two hostile parties. At the beginning of 1454, as appears by the Letter before us, we see him ordering two thousand *bands* or scarfs, distinguished by the Stafford Knot. At the battle of St. Alban's, 1455, he fought on the King's side, and was wounded, yet soon after he came over to the opposite faction;^a and in 1456, we find that a coolness was

^r Rolls Parl. vi. 294. Hall, f. clxxvii. and Stowe, p. 414, but the latter says, he was killed at *Highgate*, "by the commons of Kent."

^s Ib. v. 616. vi. 317.

^t Ib. v. 280, 282, 332, 342.

^u Ritson's Anc. Songs, p. 58.

^x Rolls Parl. v. 216.

^y Fenn, i. 206.

^z Excerpt. Hist. p. 159.—*Trayne* means fraudulent device.

^a Fenn, i. 24. The writer of the letter says, "As for tydynges, my *Lord Chaunceler* is discharged; in his stede is my *Lord of Wynchestre*. And my *Lord of Shrewisbury* is *Tre-sorer*." Shortly after, he adds, "Also it is seid the Duke of Buk' taketh right straungely, that bothe his *brethren* arn so sodeynly discharged from ther offices of *Chauncellerie* and

produced between him and the Queen, by the removal of his two relatives from the important offices of Chancellor and Treasurer.^b He again changed sides, and was killed at the battle of Northampton, 1460.

9. The Duke of Somerset, at the time this Letter was written, was prisoner in the Tower, as is more plainly intimated in another passage. Both Turner and Sir Harris Nicolas state,^c that he was arrested in January, 1453-4; but, as it appears by an instrument in Rymer,^d that by the Duke's own statement, up to the 7th Feb. 1454-5, when he was admitted to bail, he had been imprisoned the space of "one hole yere, ten wokes, and more," his arrest must, in all probability, have taken place at the end of November, 1453. His influence as minister, which began in 1450, began to wane immediately

Tresoryship." Dated 18th October. Fenn assigns this letter to the year 1450, under the erroneous supposition, that the *Chancellor* dismissed was Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury; who is, indeed, in some pedigrees, set down as brother of the Duke of Buckingham. See MS. Harl. 1411. With regard to the *Treasurer*, he is silent. Then succeeds Sharon Turner, and with a precipitancy and carelessness inexcusable in a person professing to write history, first states, vol. iii. p. 63, under the year 1449, that "Suffolk continued in his elevation; but the two *Staffords*, the *Chancellor* and *Treasurer*, were dismissed, to the great displeasure of their brother, the Duke of Buckingham; and again, vol. iii. p. 166, under October, 1450, writes, that Buckingham "was at this juncture dissatisfied, that his two brothers had been dismissed from their high stations of *Chancellor* and *Treasurer*." He refers in both instances to Fenn as his authority. Putting aside the discrepancy of these statements in point of date (the former of which is blindly copied by a writer in the *Excerpta Historica*, p. 161) it may be observed:—1. That the Duke of Buckingham had no brother of the name of Stafford, who ever was Lord Treasurer. 2. That the real date of the letter is October, 1456, at which period *Waynflete*, Bishop of Winchester, succeeded *Thomas Bourchier*, Archbishop of Canterbury, as *Chancellor*, and the *Earl of Shrewsbury* succeeded *Henry*, Viscount Bourchier, as *Treasurer*. 3. That the Bourchiers were properly called the Duke's brethren, since they were his half-brothers, by the remarriage of his mother Anne to Sir William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe. At the same period, Laurence Booth, Bishop of Chester, was made Privy Seal, a circumstance noticed also by the letter-writer in Fenn, p. 26. This long note has been rendered necessary, to prevent, if possible, a grave error from becoming more widely spread.

^b Fenn, i. 104.

^c Turner, iii. 183, who writes loosely, that he was confined for "fourteen months." Nicolas, Privy Council Books, vi. xlvi. lix.

^d Vol. xi. 361. The warrant for his bail was dated 5th February, 1454-5, but he was not enlarged till the 7th, and was wholly set free 4th March following.

after the illness of the King, and was finally overturned. He was killed in the first battle of St. Alban's, 1455.

10. The information here given us respecting the Bill of Articles framed by the Queen, is new and important matter, being totally unknown to our historians, nor is it even hinted at in the Rolls of Parliament, nor in the remains of the Privy Council Books. It would seem to have been an effort on the part of herself and adherents to wrest the power out of the Duke of York's hands, which altogether failed on his being appointed Protector, 27th March, 1454.

11. We now have a statement of the movements of the powerful Yorkist Lords, and the numbers of the retainers they thought it necessary to have with them for their safety.^e Two months after this letter was written their party triumphed, and a new order of affairs commenced. Their proceedings are sufficiently known, so as to require no further remark. The mention, however, of the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, the King's half-brothers (by the re-marriage of Katharine of Valois to Owen Tudor) as associates of the Yorkists, is worthy of notice, since no where else do we find any mention of their having swerved from the Lancastrian interest. Edmund, Earl of Richmond (father of Henry VII.) died in Wales, in 1456; but Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, survived till the reign of his nephew, by whom he was created Duke of Bedford. Who "Geoffrey Poole" was, I have been unable at present to ascertain.

12, 13, 14. These paragraphs only contain the writer's advice, that his lord, the Duke of Norfolk, should come accompanied by a sufficient retinue, with cautions as to his conduct; but we see both here and further on, that the bitter enmity existing between the Duke of Norfolk and Somerset was likely to manifest itself by some overt act, or preconcerted attack on the former. How this enmity first arose, history is silent, but it rested on public grounds, and the speech in which Norfolk impeached his adversary in Parliament for the loss of Normandy and Guyenne, in 1450, is still extant, and is a very remarkable and early specimen of oratory.^f

15. The secret policy of the Duke of Somerset is here strikingly illustrated.

^e Compare similar statements in the years 1455, 1457-8, in Fenn, i. 112, 150.

^f Fenn, iii. 108.

16. This part of the Letter is rather obscure, but apparently refers to letters of Privy Seal issued to the Duke of Norfolk, commanding (as was usual at that troubled period) that he should come peaceably arrayed, and without shew of attendants. The reply suggested to be made to the Chancellor, is worded so as to throw the blame on Somerset.

17. By way of postscript is added a curious and graphic notice of the complaints made by the merchants against Lord Bonville, before Chancellor Kempe, which receives much illustration from a letter of William Botoner to Mr. Paston, dat. 8th June, 1454, in which he writes: "Sr Edmond Mulso ys com from the Duc of Burgoine, and he seyth by hys servaunts rapport, that he wolle not discharge the godes of the merchaunts of thys land, but so be that *justice be don uppon the Lord Bonevyle*, or els that he be sent to hym, to do justice hym self, as he hath deserved, or satisfaccion be made to the value."§

In regard to the persons mentioned as having collected the information contained in the letter before us, little can be said, nor is it of much importance. John Stodeley, however, the writer, may be the same who is mentioned twice in 1463-4, in Sir John Howard's Book of Accounts, printed recently for the Roxburghe Club, pp. 161, 238.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq.
F.R.S., Director S. A.

§ Fenn, i. 78.

XXV. *Political Poems of the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., communicated by Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., in a Letter to JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq. Director S.A.*

Read 10th March, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

British Museum, 7 March, 1842.

A SHORT time ago I took an opportunity of laying before the Society of Antiquaries by your hands, a Letter containing much interesting information on the state of parties in the year 1454; and I now beg leave to add, as a supplementary communication, copies of several Political Poems written at various periods of the reigns of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth, all of which, with the exception of the first, have hitherto remained unpublished. Documents of this kind are confessedly not beneath the notice of the historian, since they shew the popular feelings of the time better than any other contemporary record, and often mention minute circumstances worthy of note, which may in vain be sought for elsewhere. In the Transactions of the Society some few specimens of this political versification have already appeared, of the reigns of Edward the Third, Richard the Second, and Edward the Fourth,^a and some others belonging to the reign of Henry the Sixth, may be found in the *Excerpta Historica*.^b Of

^a Vol. XVIII. p. 22. Vol. XXI. p. 89. Vol. XXIX. p. 130.

^b Pp. 159, 279, 360. There are also extant some verses, attributed to Lydgate, composed on the temporary reconciliation of the Yorkist and Lancastrian Lords, in March 1457-8, printed by Sir H. Nicolas, at the end of the *Chronicle of London*, pp. 251, 254, 4to. Lond. 1827, from MSS. Cott. Nero A. vi. Vesp. B. xvi.

the six poems now sent, five were composed by adherents of the house of York, the first of which relates to the murder of the Duke of Suffolk, in 1450; the second to the chiefs of the Yorkist faction, probably about May, 1460; the third to the battle of Northampton, in July following; the fourth, to the policy and position of the adverse parties, probably towards the end of the same year; and the fifth to the battle of Towton, in 1461. The remaining poem was written by a Lancastrian, and presents a curious contrast to the others. It enumerates the principal Lords on the King's side, and, under the metaphor of a ship, describes the position of each in the guidance and government of the state towards the close of the year 1458.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

TO JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq.
F.R.S. Director S.A.

I.

SARCASTIC VERSES ON THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK, 1450.

THIS poem has been printed by Ritson, in his *Ancient Songs*, p. 51, 8vo. 1790, but he has fallen into an extraordinary mistake respecting it; and having erroneously supposed its object to be "a Requiem to the Conspirators against Henry IV." in 1399, has ingeniously contrived to appropriate the greater part of the names mentioned in it to persons who were in their graves when the verses were actually composed! Had War-ton been aware of the fact, it would have afforded him an excellent opportunity of retaliating on Ritson the censures so unsparingly bestowed by the latter on himself. It was again printed by Turner in the *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 74, ed. 8vo. 1830, but with many errors in the reading, and without any attempt at illustration. He speaks of it, however, rightly, as referring to the murder of the Duke of Suffolk and others of his adherents; and remarks, that it is curious "for giving the names of those friends of the government who were most hated by the people."

The date of this piece can be fixed with sufficient precision, since it must have been composed between the 2nd of May, the date of Suffolk's death, and the 29th June, the day on which the Bishop of Salisbury suffered a similar fate. The Latin sentences put into the mouths of the persons named, are taken from the usual Church Service for the

Dead, but are, in some instances, incorrectly given both by Ritson and Turner. There is considerable humour shewn in the adaptation of the passages, and, no doubt, much of the satire is now lost to us, which must have been perceptible to a contemporary. The MS. from which it is taken is in the Cottonian collection, Vesp. B. xvi. fol. 1^b, written in a contemporary hand.

IN the monethe of Maij, when gresse growep grene,
 Flagrant^a in her floures, w^t swete sauour,
 Jac Napes^b wolde ouer the see, a maryner to ben,
 With his cloge^c and his cheyn, to seke more tresour.
 Suyche a payn prikkede hym, he asked a confessour:
 Nicholas^d said, "I am redi, thi confessour to be."
 He was holden so, that he ne passede that hour;
 For Jac Napes soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Who shalle execute his exequies, w^t a solempnite?
 Bisshopes and lordes, as grete reson is;
 Monkes, chanons, prestes, and other clergie,
 Pray for this Dukes soule, þat it might come to blis.
 And let neuer suyche another come after this:
 His interfectours, blessed might thei be,
 And graunte them for ther dede to regne w^t angelis;
 And for Jac Nape soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Placebo begynneth the bishop of Herforde,^e
Dilexi, for myn auauncement, saithe þe bisshop of Chestre;^f

^a *Flagrant* for *fragrant*, as we find *flagrantia* for *fragrantia*, in the Middle Age Latinity.

^b A nickname for William De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who, after his fall, embarked from Ipswich with the intention of proceeding abroad, but was intercepted by some ships off Dover, and beheaded without ceremony by the shipmen, 2nd May, 1450. An interesting contemporary account of this transaction is given in the *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 38.

^c A clog argent with a chain or, was the badge of Suffolk. See *Excerpta Hist.* p. 161.

^d The name of the ship which intercepted the Duke was the *Nicholas of the Tower*.

^e Richard Beauchamp, consecrated 9 Feb. 1448-9, and translated to Salisbury, 14 Aug. 1450.

^f William Booth, consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (then usually called

Heu me ! saip Salisbury,^g this gothe to ferre forthe,
Ad Dominum cum tribularer, saip þe abbot of Gloucestre.^h
Dominus custodit, saip the abbot of Rouchestre,ⁱ
Leuani oculos, saip frere Stanbury,^k *volau* ;^l
Si iniquitates, saip þe bisshop of Worcetre ;^m
 For Jac Nape soule, *De profundis clamaui*.

Opera manuum tuarum, seiþ the Cardynalⁿ wisely,
 That brought forthe *Confitebor*, for alle this Napes reson ;

Chester) 9 July, 1447, and translated to York in 1452. In the *Excerpta Historica*, p. 357, are some curious satirical verses addressed to him, as one of Suffolk's partisans. He is also named in the petition from the Commons, 29 April, 1451, among the persons whose removal was desired for "mysbehavyng." *Rot. Parl.* v. 216.

^g William Aiscough, Clerk of the Council, consecrated 20 July, 1438. He was one of Suffolk's chief adherents, and murdered by his own parishioners under circumstances of great cruelty whilst saying mass, at Edindon, 29 June, 1450. See Godwin, p. 350. Stowe, p. 392.

^h Reynold or Reginald Butler, who had the royal assent to his election, 29 Oct. 1437, and received the temporalities, the 12 Nov. following. He was promoted to the see of Hereford in Dec. 1450, and translated to Lichfield, 3 April 1453. Whilst Abbot of Gloucester, he rendered himself so obnoxious as a partisan of Suffolk, that he was sent prisoner to Ludlow Castle by the Duke of York, and was included amongst those persons whom the Commons petitioned the King to remove, 29 Apr. 1451.

ⁱ William Wellys, Abbot of York, succeeded to be Prior of St. Andrew's, Rochester, in 1436. The period of his death is uncertain, but his successor died in 1467.

^k John Stanbury was Confessor to Henry VI. and the first Provost of Eton College, founded by that monarch. He was made Bishop of Bangor, 4 May, 1448, and translated to Hereford, 7 Feb. 1452-3. He was ever a staunch friend of Henry, and, at the battle of Northampton, induced the Lancastrian soldiers by his exhortations to make the greater resistance, for which he was taken prisoner, and confined a long time in Warwick Castle. He died in 1474. Godwin, p. 492.

^l There seems to be here some error, as there is no such word in the Service for the Dead. Perhaps we should substitute a repetition of the word *levavi*.

^m John Carpenter, appointed by papal bull, 20 Dec. 1443. He resigned in 1476.

ⁿ John Kempe, Cardinal, and Archbishop of York, made Chancellor for the second time, 31 Jan. 1449-50.

Audiui vocem, songe Allemightty God an hye,
 And perfore syng we, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*.
 Vnto this *Dirige* most we gon and come,
 This pascalle tyme, ° to say veryli,
 Thre psalmes and thre lessouns, þ^t alle is and somme :
 For Jac Nape soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Executors of this office, *Dirige* for to synge,
 Shalle begyn the bisshop of Synt Asse ; ^p
Verba mea auribus, saiþ abbot of Redynge, ^q
 Alle your ioye and hope is come to alassee !
Conuertere, Domine, yet graunte vs grace,
 Saiþ abbot of Synt Albans, ^r ful sorily ;
 The abbot of þe Toure hille, ^s w^t his fat face,
 Quakeþ and tremuleþ, for *Domine, ne in furore*.

Maister Water Liard ^t shal syng *Ne quando*,
 The abbot of Westmynstre, ^u *Domine, Deus meus, in te speraui* ;
Requiem eternam graunte them alle to come to,
 þerto a *Pater noster*, saiþ the bisshop of Synt Daui. ^x

° Easter day in 1450 fell on 5th April. It was during the octaves that the Parliament was held at Leicester, in which Suffolk and his adherents were indicted for treason.

p Thomas ——— succeeded 27 Jan. 1440-50, and died about 1461.

q John Thorne, elected Abbot 7 Jan. 1445-6, and received the temporalities, 18 Jan. The period of his death is not known.

r John Stoke, previously prior of Wallingford, was elected Abbot of St. Alban's 28 Nov. 1440, on the resignation of Whethamstede. He caused a monument to be erected to the memory of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and died in 1451. See *Monasticon*, ii. 202.

s This individual I am unable to identify, owing to the want of a list of the Abbots of St. Mary de Graces, or Newminster, which is the monastery alluded to. In the reign of Henry VIII. a Victualling Office was erected on the site.

t Walter Liard or Lyhert, was Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from which he was removed to the see of Norwich, 24 Jan. 1445-6, and died 17 May 1472.

u Edmund Kyrton, who succeeded Abbot Harwedon between the 27 May and 20 Aug. 1440. He resigned 23 Oct. 1462, on account of his age and infirmities.

x John De la Bere, consecrated 13 Nov. 1447. He is supposed to have died in 1460. *Le Nere*, p. 513.

For thes soules, þat wise were and mightty,
Suffolke, Moleyns,^y and Roos,^z thes thre ;
And in especial for Jac Napes, þat euer was wyly ;
For his soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Rise vp, Say,^a rede *Parce mihi, Domine,*
Nichil enim sunt dies mei, þou shalt synge ;
þe bisshop of Carlyle^b [shal] synge *Credo* ful sore ;
To suyche fals traitours come foule endynge.
The baron of Dudley^c with grete mornynge,
Redethe, *Tedet animam meam vite mee ;*

^y Adam Moleyns, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of Chichester, who succeeded to that see 3 Dec. 1445. From his being one of the members of the Suffolk administration, he was murdered by some shipmen at Portsmouth, 9 January, 1449-50. Suffolk, in his reply to the bill of impeachment against him, declared that the surrender of the French provinces of Mans and Anjou, was peculiarly attributable to Moleyns. This is sufficient to account for his unpopularity. In William of Wyreestre the detail of his death is given with more particulars than elsewhere. "Circa Epiphaniam Domini," he writes, Magister Adam Moleyns, Episcopus Cicestrensis, apud Portesmothe in hospitali ibidem [the Hospital of God's House, founded by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester], portando ac solvendo soldariis aliisque nautis regios denarios, clamando eum proditorem regis et regni, unumque venditorum Normannie, miserabiliter interfectus est." *Annales*, p. 467, ap. Hearne, *Lib. Nig. Scaccarii*, 8vo. 1771.

^z The person here alluded to is, apparently, Sir Robert Roos, banneret, fourth son of William Lord Roos, of Hamlake. In Feb. 1442-3 he was associated with Suffolk, Moleyns, and others, to negotiate the peace between England and France, and the marriage between the King and Margaret of Anjou. He died 30 Dec. 1448. See a memoir of him in Sir H. Nicolas's *Journal of Beckington's Embassy*, 8vo. 1828, p. lxxvii.

^a James Fiennes, Lord Say, Lord Treasurer, killed by the rebels under Jack Cade, 4 July, 1450. As these verses appear to have been written before his death, they are singularly prophetic of his fate.

^b Nicholas Close, appointed 14 March, 1449-50, and translated to Lichfield, 30 Aug. 1452.

^c John Sutton, Baron Dudley, summoned to Parliament from 15 Feb. 1440 to 15 Nov. 1482. He is included among those for whose dismissal from the King's person the Commons petitioned in 1451.

Who but Danyel ^d *Qui Lazarum* ^e shal synge,
For Jac Nape soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige* ?

John Say ^f redethe, *Manus tue fecerunt me* ;
Libera me, syngethe Trevilian, ^g warre the rere !
That thei do no more so, *Requiescant in pace* ;
Thus prayes alle Englonde, ferre and nere.
Where is Somerset ? ^h whi aperes he not here,
To synge *Dies ire et miserie* ?
God graunte Englonde, alle in fere,
For thes traitours to synge *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Meny mo þer be behynde, þe sothe forto telle,
þ^t shal messes oppon thes do synge ;
I pray som man do rynge the belle,
þat þese forsaiden may come to þe sacrynge.
And þat in brief tyme, w^out more tarienge,
þat þis messe may be ended in suyche degre ;
And þat alle Englonde ioyfulle may synge,
þe commendacion, with *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

^d Thomas Danyel, Esquire of the King's body. See what has been said of him previously, p. 314.

^e The commencement of the verse, *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum*.

^f John Say was a member of the King's Council in 1454 and 1458. As one of Suffolk's partisans he had been named in the petition of the Commons, before referred to.

^g John Trevilian, Esquire of the King's body. See a previous notice of him, p. 314.

^h Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. At the time this poem was composed he was in France, as chief commander, and after the loss of Normandy, and the fall of Suffolk, was chosen as the principal adviser of the Crown. He came to England in November, 1450, and was killed in the first battle of St. Alban's, 22 May, 1455.

Among the Cotton Rolls is one marked II. 23, containing various pieces in prose and verse, directed against the Lancastrians, as also several metrical prophecies, etc. collected by a zealous Yorkist, about the year 1451. Among them is a copy of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the Commons against the Duke in Feb. 1449-50, as printed in the Rolls of Parliament, v. 177, after which follow the annexed lines, evidently aimed against the same party :

For feer or for fauour of ony fals mañ,
Loose not the loue of alle þe commynalte ;
Be ware, and sey, by Seint Juliañ,
Duke, Jwge, Barone, Archebisshope, and he be,
He wolle repent it with in þs monthes thre.

Let folke accused excuse theym selff, and þey cañ,
Reseyue no good, let soche bribry be ;
Support not theyme this wo by-gañ,
And take fro þeym þer wages and þer fee,
And let theyme [weare ?] suche clothis as þey spañ,
Or by God and Seint Anne !

Som must go hens, hit may noñ othere weys be,
And els is lost alle þs lond and we ;
Hong vp suche meñ to oure souerayne lorde,
That euer counselde hym w^t fals men to be acorde.

*Anno Milleno Domini centum quaterno,
L. simplex pleno, caveat omnis homo.*

In the same Roll occur the curious political and satyrical verses printed in the *Excerpta Historica* ; and interspersed are the following historical scraps, relating to this period, and now first printed :

He is wise that is wode, he is riche þat hase no goode,
He is blynde þat may se, he is riche þat shalle neuer i-the,
He is fledde þat is not ferde, and he abideth þt maketh alle your berde.

The Duke of Suffolke hathe marryede his nese, his suster dowghter, to þe Capdawe, etc. And yaf hym w^t here þe reuenewez þat come fro Bordeaux, that is to wete, vi.^{ss} towne [tun] wyne yerly, v^c.^{li} etc. in mony, þe whiche my lorde of Gloucestre hadde of yifte of þe kyng, duryng his life, etc.

M^d. the kyng is xxvj^c M^l.ⁱⁱ in det, and he may dispende but xxxiiij M^l. of the whiche the kyng hathe no more in honde but v M^l.ⁱⁱ and his expense commythe yerly xxxij M^l.

At Tonnebrigge, fast by Sevenoke, þer was Stafford slayne, þursday next before Myssomer.

At Crayford [*sic*] myle fro Dertforde.

Primo die mensis Marcii anno r. r. Henrici Sexti xxx^o [1452], ther was my lorde of Yorkes ordynaunce iij^{mill} gownneres, and hymself in þe middelle warde, w^t viij^{mill}, my lorde of Devynshere by þe southe side, w^t vi^{mill}, and lorde Cobbame w^t vi^{mill} at the water side, and vij shippers, w^t þer stuffe. And sith þat tyme, and sithe, was poyntment made, and takene at Dertforde, by embassetours, my lorde þe B. of Wynchester, my lorde B. of Ely, my lorde þe Erle of Salusbury, my lorde of Warrewik, my lorde Bewchame, and my lorde of Sydeley, etc. whiche poyntment was, etc. And soone after was Chatturley, yemañ of the Crowne, maymede, not withstondynge he was takyne at Derby w^t money makynge, and ladde to Londone. Theñ after, the kynges yemañ of his chambure, namyde Fazakerley, w^t letteris was sent to Ludlow, to my lorde of Yorke, chargynge to do forthe a certeyne of his mayny, Artherñ, Squiere, Sharpe, Squiere, etc. the whiche Fazakerley hylde in avowtry Sharpus wiff, the whiche Sharpe slowe Fazacurly; and a bakere of Ludlow roos and þe commyns, etc.; the whiche bakere is at Kyllingworthe castelle, etc. After þis my lorde of Shrousbury, etc. rode in to Kent, and set vp vi. peyre of galowes, and dede execucione vpone John Wylkyns, takene and broght to þe towne as for Capteyne, and w^t othere mony mo, of the whiche xxviij. were hangede and be-hedede, the whiche hedes were sent to Londone, and Londone said þer shulde no mo hedes be set vpone there; and þat tyme Etone was robbyde, and þe kyng beyng at Wyncore oñ Lowe Sondag, etc.

II.

VERSES ON THE STATE BY A LANCASTRIAN, 1458.

From MS. Trin. Coll. Dubl. E. 5. 10. a miscellaneous volume in prose and verse, compiled in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.; partly written on vellum, partly on paper, 4to.

Fol. 30. *De Navi vel Puppe, Anno Domini Mⁱ cccc^o lvij^o. litera dominical^e g.*

STERE welle the good shype, God be ouer gyde!
 Ouer shyp is launched from the grounde,
 Blessed be God, bothe faire and sounde;
 Ouer maryners han the shypmen founde,
^aBy þere taklynge wille a-byde.

^a Opposite to this line in the MS. is the following marginal note:—Nota, ut poeta satirus dat versus, fungar vice cotis, acutum reddere ferrum; in prologo Pollicricon hoc.

This noble shyp, made of good tree,
Ouer souerayne lord kynge Henry ;
God gyde hym from aduersyte,
Where þ^t he go or ryde.

The shyp was charged w^t a mast,
Crased it was, it my[ght] not last ;^b
Now hathe he one þ^t wol not brest,
The old is leyde on syde.
Thys fayre mast, [th]is myghty yeard,
Of whom fals shrewes be a-fere[d],
Hys name of ryght is Prince Edward,^c
Long myght he w^t vs a-byde !

The ship hathe closed hym a lyght,
To kepe her course in way of ryght,
A fyre cressant,^d þ^t bernethe bryght,
W^t fawte was neuer spyed.
Thys good lyght, þ^t is so clere,
Calle Y the Duke of Exceter,^e
Whos name yn troupe shyned clere,
Hys worshyp spryngethe wyde.

Thys shyp hathe a sterne fulle good,
Hem to gyde in ebbe and flood,
A-geyne þer wawes bope wild and wode,
That rynnethe on euery syde.
The sterne that on þe shype is sette,
Ys þe Duke Somerset,^f

^b This may refer to the administration under Suffolk, which was dissolved in 1450.

^c Edward, only son of Henry VI. born 13 Oct. 1454.

^d The Duke of Exeter is designated by the same badge in some verses in the *Excerpta Hist.* p. 161.

^e Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. See previously, p. 312.

^f Henry Beaufort, son of the Duke who fell at St. Alban's. He was beheaded in May, 1464, after the battle of Hexham.

For ragged rokkes he wolle not lette,
To sterre in ebbe and eke in tyde.

Ther is a sayle-yearde fulle good and sure,
To þ^e shyp a grete tresour,
For alle stormes it wolle endure,
It is trusty atte nede.
Now þe sayle-yearde Y wolle reherse,
The Erle of Penbroke,^z curtys and ferce.
A-cros þ^e mast he hyethe travers,
The good shyp for to lede.

The mast hathe a welle good stay,
W^t shrowthes sure, Y dare wel say,
In humble wyse hym to obey,
Yf he to þem hathe nede.
The Duke of Bokyngham^b thys stay is he :
Thys shrowdes be sure in thare degre.
Devenshyre,ⁱ and Grey,^k and Becheham^l the free,
And Scales^m w^t them in tyde.

The shyp hathe a welle good sayle,
Of fyne canvas, þ^t wolle not fayle,
W^t bonetⁿ iii. for to travayle,
That mekelle beth of pryde.

^z Jasper Tudor, half-brother of Henry VI. created Earl of Pembroke in 1452.

^b Humphrey Stafford, killed at the battle of Northampton, 1460.

ⁱ Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, who succeeded his father, of the same name, in 1458. He stoutly adhered to Henry VI. and had a yearly sum of 100 marks granted him out of the forfeited estates of the Duke of York. He was beheaded by the Yorkists in 1461.

^k Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthyn. He deserted at the battle of Northampton to the opposite party, and was created Earl of Kent by Edward IV. in 1465.

^l John, Lord Beauchamp of Powyk, created in 1447. He was made Lord Treasurer, 22 June, 1450.

^m Thomas, Lord Scales. Killed by the Yorkists in 1460, in attempting to escape from the Tower of London.

ⁿ In nautical language, a "bonnet" is an addition made to the lower part of a sail, in mo-

This good sayle, Y vndurstond,
The Erle of Northumb[er]land,^o
Ros,^p Clyfford,^q and Egremond,^r
The troupe is not to hyde.

Ther is a toppe, þ^e mast on hyght,
The shyp to defende, in alle hys ryght,
W^t his foomen when he schalle fyght,
They dare hym not a-byde.
The Erle of Schrovesbury^s þ^e toppes name,
He kepethe þ^e shype from harme and blame,
The Erle of Wylchyre^t one of þ^e same
That kepethe þ^e shyp from drede.

Thys good shype hathe ankers thre,
Of bether mettel þer may non be,
To strenthe þ^e shyp be londe and se,
When he wolle stop hys tyde.
The fu[r]st anker, hole and sounde,
He is named þ^e lord Beamond,^u

derate weather. In Capt. Nathaniel Butler's "Dialogicall discourse concerninge Marine Affaires, 1634," MS. Sloane, 758, p. 109, the word is thus explained: "The Bonnett is an addition onely of a piece of a sayle, made fitt to bee put unto another, soe that when seamen saye, that the shippe hath her course, and Bonnett abroad, theire meaninge is, that she hath the peice of sayle added unto her course, called the Bonnett, which before shee had not, nor ordinarily hathe."

^o Henry Percy, who in the lifetime of his father was summoned to Parliament as Baron Poynings. He succeeded to the earldom in 1455, and was slain at the battle of Towton, 1461.

^p Thomas de Roos, Baron Roos of Hamlake. He was attainted in 1461.

^q John, Lord Clifford, the murderer of the young Earl of Rutland at Wakefield. He was killed in 1461.

^r Thomas Percy, Earl of Egremont, created in 1449. He was killed in 1460, at Northampton.

^s John Talbot, made Lord Treasurer in 1456, and killed also at Northampton, 1460.

^t James Butler, created in 1449, and held the office of Lord Treasurer twice, in 1455 and 1458; beheaded in 1461.

^u John, Viscount Beaumont, created in 1440. Killed at Northampton, 1460.

Wellys,^x and Ryveres,^y troupe yn þem found,
In worshyp þey hem gyde.

Now help Saynt George, oure Lady knyght,
And be oure lode-sterre^z day and nyght,
To strengthe oure Kynge, and England ryght,
And felle oure fomenus pryde.
Now is oure shype dressed in hys kynde,
W^t hys taklynge be-for and be-hynde,
Whos[o] loue it not, God make hym blynde!
In peynes to a-byde.

III.

VERSES ON THE YORKIST LORDS.

FROM MS. Trin. Coll. Dubl. D. 4, 18, the second portion of which consists of various pieces in prose and verse, chiefly written in the latter years of the reign of Henry VI. on paper, 4to. There is some difficulty in fixing the date of this poem, but in all probability it was in May, 1460, previous to the landing of the Earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick, in Kent. Many other poems were doubtless composed about this time, and Stowe has preserved the commencement of "a long ballet made in favour of the Duke of Yorke and the sayde Erles," which was fastened on the gates of Canterbury at their arrival. It began thus:

"In the day of fast and spirituall affliction,
The celestiaall influence of bodies transitorie."

Yerly be þe morowe, in a somer tyde,
I sawe in a strete, in London as I went,
A gentyl woman sitting in Chepesyde,
Syt wirkyng vpon a vestment.

^x Leo, Lord Welles, slain in 1461, at Towton.

^y Richard Widville, created Baron Rivers in 1448, and father-in-law of Edward IV. by whom he was made Earl Rivers and Lord Treasurer. He was beheaded in 1469 by the peasantry.

^z The MS. reads erroneously, *lordes-sterre*.

She set xij. letteris in order on a rowe,
þ^t I might right wele vnderstande,
þorought þe grace of God it shal be knowe,
þese xij. letters shal saue alle Inglande.

A litel while if þat ye wol dwelle,
And yeue audience alle vnto me,
What letters þei were, I shal you telle,
þei were drawn out of þe a. b. c.

There was an V^a and thre arres to-gydre in a sute,
W^t letters oper, of whiche I shal reherse,
Ȝ. E. R. E. writen affter b[e] rute,
M. S. R. and F. now haue I þeyme expresse.

Styl as I stode, w^t in a litel sesone,
I construed þese letters þens or I went,
And as I conseyued, be my semple resone,
I shal telle you what þt woman ment.

The arris for thre Richard, þ^t be of noble fames,
þ^t for þe rȳst of Englonð haue sufferd moche wo,
York, Salesbury, and Warwik, þese be þ^e lordes names,
þat alle Englonð is be-holden to.

Ȝ for Ȝorke, þ^t is manly and myȝtfulle,
þ^t be grace of God and gret reuelacion,
Reynyng w^t rules resonable and right fulle,
þe which for oure sakes haþe sufferd vexacion.^b

E for Edward,^c whos fame þe erþe shal sprede,
Be-cause of his wisdom named prudence,
Shal saue alle Englonð by his manly-hede,
Wherfore we owe to do hym reuerence.

^a So in the MS., but we should probably read "a W."

^b Richard, Duke of York, was at this time in Ireland, to which he had been obliged to retreat after the failure at Ludlow in the October preceding.

^c Edward, Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York; subsequently Edward IV.

M for Marche, trewe in euery tryalle,
 Drawen by discrecion þat worthy and wise is,
 Conseived in wedlok, and comyn of blode ryalle,
 Joynnyng vnto vertu, excludyng alle vises.

S for Salesbury,^d w^t out any questione,
 Rialle in his reynyng, and wise in euery case,
 He bryngethe many maters to goode conclusion,
 Called for his wisdom *pater familias*.

W for Warwik,^e goode w^t sheld and oþer defence,
 þe boldest vnder baner, in batelle to a-byde,
 For þe right of Englund he doþe his diligence :
 Boþe be londe and watyr God be his gyde !

F for þe Feturlok,^f þ^t is of gret substaunce,
 þat haþe mevid many maters þorow his mediacion,
 In Englund and in Wales, in Scotland,^g and in Fraunce,
 He rideþ and rulethe withe ryalle reputacion.

R for þe Rose,^h þ^t fresshe is in euery stede,
 Boþe þe rote and þe stalke ben gret of honoure,
 Fro Norway to Normandi þeire power wol sprede,
 From Rylandⁱ to Estland men ioy of þat flowre.

^d Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.

^e Richard Neville, his son, Earl of Warwick. In the same MS. occurs this tristich on his name, composed about the same period :

Warwyk.

W. wisdomē monstrat, et adventus A. bene constat,

R. rightwisnes legi, W. willing prospera regi,

I. iust antiqui, K. kynd est, hic et ubique .

^f The badge of the Duke of York, and used on his seal in 1442 and 1445. See Sandford, p. 380, and Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 54.

^g Probably a mistake for *Ireland*.

^h Edward, Earl of March.

ⁱ *Sic*, perhaps for *Ireland*.

E for þe Egle,^k þat gret worship haþe wonne,
þorow spredyng of his wynges, þ^t neuer dyd fle,
þer was neuer byrde, þat bred vndre sonne,
More fortunat in felde þan þ^t birde hathe be.

R for þe Ragged Staf,^l þ^t noman may skapen,
From Scotland to Cales þere of men stond in awe,
In al Cristen landes is none so felle a wepen,
To correcte soche caytiffes as do a-gayne þe lawe.

Now haue I declarede þese xij. letters accordyng
To þeire condicions, where þei ryde or gone,
þou; þei be disseverid, þe olde from þe yinge,^m
þeire entent and purpos corden alle in oone.

That is, to destroy treson, and make a tryalle,
Of hem þ^t be fauty, and hurten fulle sore,
For þe wyll of Edward,ⁿ kyng most ryalle,
That is þe moste purpos þ^t we labor fore.

^k Richard, Earl of Salisbury. The allusion to his success in the field, must refer to the battles of St. Alban's and Blackheath, the latter of which was fought 23 Sept. 1459. He was beheaded after the disastrous battle of Wakefield, 30 Dec. 1460, which of course will fix the date of this poem anterior to that event.

^l The badge of the Earl of Warwick. When the Lords of the adverse factions came to London at the commencement of 1458, for the purpose of reconciliation, Fabian writes, "and the xiiijth day of February came the Erle of Warwyke from Calays, with a great bande of men, all arrayed in rede iakettys, with whyte raggyd stauens vpon them, and was lodgyd at the Grey Friars." p. 633.

^m This probably refers to the separation of the Yorkist lords, some of whom were in Ireland, and some at Calais. In the same manner writes Stowe, when speaking of their dispersion in 1457, "then were they separated in bodies, but in mindes and hearts knit together in one."

ⁿ There seems some mistake here in applying the title of *king* to Edward, whilst his father survived, since the whole tenor of the verses proves that York and Salisbury were both alive when the poem was written. I can only therefore suppose, that *Edward* is a mistake of the transcriber for *Richard*.

Now pray we to þe prynce moste precious and pure,
 þ^t sytteth w^t his seyntis in blys eternalle,
 Hur entent and purpos may last and endure,
 To the pleasaunce of God, and þe welfare of vs alle.
 Amen.

IV.

POEM ON THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON, 10 JULY, 1460.

FROM MS. Trin. Coll. Dubl. D. 4, 18; a contemporary copy. The Yorkist Lords landed at Dover in June, 1460, and having been joined by the men of Kent, marched on to London, where they arrived 2d July. Leaving the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Wenlock, to watch Lord Scales, who was in the Tower, Edward, with Warwick, Fauconberg, and Bouchier, advanced to meet the King. The rival armies met near Northampton, and on the 10th July the battle took place, in which, says Fabyan, "after long fighte, the Kinges hoost was sparbled [disparpled] and chasyd, and many of his noblemen slayne; among the which was the Duke of Buchyngham, the Erle of Shroysbury, the Vycount Beaumonde, the Lord Egremonde, with many other knyghtes and esquyers, and the Kyng taken in the felde." This poem must have been written before September, since it speaks of the Duke of York as absent in Ireland. The Duke landed in England about the 8th Sept. and came to London on the 10th October following.

OF alle mennys disposicion naturalle,
 Philisophys wryten in euery place,
 That after the bodyes celestialle,
 The erthely body his wirkyn[g] hase;
 Some tyme disposid it is to solace,
 Som tyme the contrary to hevynesse;
 And som tyme, by enspecialle grace,
 Sorow is turned into gladnesse.

And^a ensaumple here of I take witnesse,
 Of certeyne persones þ^t late exiled were,

^a We should probably read *An*.

Whos sorow is turned into ioyfulnesse,
þe Rose,^b þe Fetyrlok,^c þe Egle,^d and þe Bere.^e
Grete games in Ingland sum tyme þer were,
In hauking, huntyng, and fisshing, in euery place,
A-monge lordes w^t shelde and spere,
Prosperite in reme þan reynnyng wase.

Where of God, of his specialle grace,
Heryng þe peple crying for mercye,
Considering þe falsehode in euery place,
Gauē infleweñz of myrþe into bodyes on hye.
The whiche in a Berward^f lighted preuelye,
Edward, yong of age, disposed in solace;
In hauking and huntyng to begynne meryly,
To Northampton w^t þe Bere he toke his trace.

Now shal ye here a meruelous case,
Allonly þoroughe God oone prouysione;
þe Berward and þe Bere þei did þe Dogges chace,
And put þeyme to flight, to gret confucione.
þus a-gayne alle naturalle disposicione,
To se a Bere to seke his owne game,
But if it were of Goddis mocione,
þat he shuld do þe Dogges shame.

Talbot ontrewē^g was þe oon Dogges name,
Rauling Bewmond^h anodre, I vnderstonde,
þe thrid also was made ful tame,
He was called bolde Egremonde.ⁱ

^b Edward, Earl of March.

^c Richard, Duke of York.

^d Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.

^e Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

^f Edward, Earl of March, so called from having the Earl of Warwick as his associate.

^g John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

^h John, Viscount Beaumont.

ⁱ Thomas Percy, Earl of Egremond.

When þe Bereward come to þe grounde,
 Where he chased the forsaid leese,^k
 A-monge alle oper a Buk^l he founde,
 þe whiche was hye, and fat of greese.

þe coriages Berward put hym ferre in preese,
 To þe Hunt,^m oure Kyng, he hyed hym ful fast;
 The Bere, for alle þe Dogges, wold not seese,
 But hyed hym sone aftre swyftly in hast.
 The Dogges barked at hem ful fast,
 þe Buk set vp his hornes on hye,
 þe Berward, þei cryed, þei wold downe cast,
 The Bere also, if that he come nye.

The Bereward asked no questione why,
 But on þe Dogges he set fulle rounde;
 þe Bere made the Dogges to cry,
 And w^t his pawme cast þeyme to grounde.
 The game was done in a litel stounde,
 þe Buk was slayne, and borne a-way;
 A-gayne þe Bere þan was none hounde,
 But he might sporte, and take his play.

But þe Hunt he saued from harme þ^t day,
 He pouzt neuer oper in alle his mynde,
 He lowted downe, and at his fote lay,ⁿ
 In token to hym that he was kynde.
 The Bereward also, þe Huntres frende,
 Felle downe on kne, saying w^t obedience,
 "Souereigne lord, thenk vs not vnkynde,
 Nor take ye this in none offence.

^k i. e. leash.

^l Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

^m Huntsman; the King, Henry VI.

ⁿ Compare the account in Whethamstede, p. 482, and Stowe, p. 409.

We haue desired to come to your presence,
To oure excuse we myght not answe;re;
Alle pinges were hyd from your audience,
Where-fore we fled a-way for fere."
The Hunt said þo, " I wol you here,
Ye be right welcom bothe to me;
Alle way I pray you to stond me nere,
Ye be my frendis, I may wele se.

Stond vp, Berward, welcom be ye,
Gramercy of you[r] gentyl game;
From you and your Bere I wol neuer fle,
Telliþe me now, what is your name?"
" Edward of Marche, I am þe same,
Trewe to God and youre highnesse."
þe gentyl Bere said, " W^t outen blame
We haue be put in gret hevynesse."

The Hunt answerid w^t gret mekenesse,
þe Dogges wrought a-gayne alle kynde;
þei labored to bryng me in distresse,
I was þeire mayster and specialle frende.
The Buk ran be-fore, þe Dogges be-hynde,
I folowed after, I wist neuer why;
In no place game kowde I fynde,
þe Buk and þe Dogges playde by and by.

A gentylle dogge wol naturally
His mayster love, and drede also;
His kyndly game if he may a-spy,
From hym belyve he wol be goo.
These curre Dogges before dyd not so;
þe Buk and þey played par asent;
They lapped a-wey the fatte me fro,
Me to myscheue was þeire entent.

And neuer to me þei wold consent,
 þe whiche called you euer treytours vntrewe;
 Tyl now þe trewe comynerys of Kent
 Be comyn w^t you, falsehed to destrewe.
 And truþe long exiled now to renewe;
 Seynt Thomas I þanke, in alle your right,
 þ^e girded you þis day, and shewid to be trewe,
 So fewe men slayne in so gret a fight.^o

It was þe werk of God almight,
 Of mannesse power it might not be;
 Gramercy, Faucon,^p of þi fayre flight,
 þe bird from þe nest he made to fle."
 To London now, þat fayre cyte,
 þe Hunt was brought^q ful reuerently;
 þe Berward, þe Bere, þe Fawcone fre,
 Rode a-bouȝt hym fulle ioyefully.

Thorow þat cyte right opynly
 þe Hunt rode, w^t gret gladnesse;
 þe pepil reioysed inwardly,
 And þanked God of his goodenesse;
 That he likeþ with lustynesse
 To endewe þe Hunt, oure noble Kyng,
 And to remeve his heuynesse,
 Whiche to his regalle is no þyng conservyng.

The Egle^r from Londone was neuer remeving,
 But hovid, and wayted vpon his pray;

^o William of Wyrcestre, after giving the names of the noblemen slain, adds, "et alii ad numerum ccc. personarum. Etiam submersi sunt in fugiendo plures." p. 481. But Hall states, that 10,000 persons were slain at this battle. f. clxxvi.

^p William Neville, younger son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland. He married the heiress of Thomas, Lord Fauconberg, and was summoned to Parliament in her right, from 1429 to 1461. He was created Earl of Kent in 1461, and died in 1463.

^q The King reached London on the 16th July, and was lodged in the Bishop of London's palace. See Fabyan and Hall.

^r Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.

Alle his delite was euer in fisshing,
þe Fisshe^s were closed in pyttes al way.
Yit at þe last, vpon a day,
þe Fisshe drewe nere vnto þe bayte ;
Nede haþe no lawe, þus alle men say,
þe Egle þerto euer layde goode wayte.

To skape a-way it was ful strayte,
þe Eglys birdes^t lay so þeyme a-bowte ;
Euer beholding þe falce dissayte,
How from þeyme alle þei wold gon oute.
þe Egle liȝted, and made hem to loute,
þe Fisshe was feynte, and litelle of might ;
ȝit iiij. there were, boþe gret and stoute,
þe whiche he toke alle at a flight.

Alle þei had scaped vpon a nyght,
Saue þeire Skales^u were plucked a-way ;
þan had þe Fisshe lost alle here might,
And litel ioy in watyr to play.
Now God, þ^t madest bothe nyght and day,
Bryng home þe mayster of þis game,
þe Duke of Yorke, for hym we pray,
þ^t noble prynce, Richard be name.

Whom treson ne falshod neuer dyd shame,
But euer obedient to his souereigne ;
Falsehod euer more put hym in blame,
And lay a-wayte hym to haue sleigne.

^s Thomas, Lord Scales, together with Lords Vesci, Lovell, and Delaware, the Earl of Kendal, a Gascon, and others, had thrown themselves into the Tower, which they held against the Earl of Salisbury. See Stowe, p. 408.

^t The forces of the Earl of Salisbury.

^u When the Tower was yielded, Lord Scales, with three others, endeavoured to escape, but was killed by some watermen of the Earl of Warwick, and his body left naked at the gate of "the Clynke." Hall. p. clxxvi. See also Will. Wyrcestre, p. 482, and Stowe, p. 409.

If God be w^t vs, who is vs a-gayne ?
 He is so nowe, blessid mot he be ;
 Of þis fortune alle men may be fayne,
 þ^t right haþe now his fre entree.

Blessid be God in Trinite,
 Fadir and Son and Holy Goste,
 Whiche kepithe his seruauntes in aduersite,
 And wold not suffre þeyme to be loste ;
 As þou art Lord of mightes moste,
 Saue þe Kyng and his ryalte,
 And illumyn him w^t þe Holy Goste,
 His reme to set in perfyte charite. Amen.

V.

POEM ON THE POSITION OF THE YORKISTS AND LANCASTRIANS, AND
 THE POLICY TO BE OBSERVED BY THE FORMER.

FROM MS. Trin. Coll. Dubl. D. 4, 18; a contemporary copy. It is not easy to fix the date of these verses; but I am induced, after much consideration, to think they were written soon after the Duke of York had been recognised heir apparent to the throne, and Lord Protector, 19th Nov. 1460. The writer advises the heads of his party to be on their guard against the Lancastrians, and not to trust to an outward shew of amity. The allusion to the success of the Yorkists, and their being "set high on Fortune's wheel," can only well refer to the period above named, or to the winter of 1455. Supposing the epithet of the *Rose* to refer to Richard, Duke of York, I would place the poem under the latter year; but, as this epithet is uniformly given to his son Edward Earl of March, I can hardly suppose that in 1455, when he had not attained his fifteenth year, he should be spoken of so prominently, as we find he is in the poem before us.

AWAKE, lordes, awake, and take goode hede,
 For som þ^t speke ful fayre, þei wolde your evil spede ;
 þou3 þei pere in your presence w^t a fayre face,
 And her tunge chaunged, þe hert is as it was.

þei seyne in þeire assemble, it is a wondre thyng,
 To se þe Rose^a in wyntre so fresshe for to spryng;
 And many barked atte Bere,^b þat now be ful styлле,
 ȝit þei wol hym wryye, if þei might haue her wylle.
 But of your fewe fomen no thing þat ye drede,
 For þe comyns ben youre, euer at youre nede;
 ȝit a seege wold be set, þe falte to take and holde,
 For oon scabbed shepe, may enfecte al a folde.
 Trust not to moche in the fauour of youre foos,
 For þei be double in wirking, as þe worlde gos;
 Promysing feithfully obeisaunce to kepe,
 But perfite loue in þeire hertis is leyde for to slepe,
 And þouȝ þei were þe Rose, or þe Ragged Staffe,^c
 þei rought neuer how sone, in feiþe, þat ȝe starffe.
 For fyre and water to-gider in kyndeling [to] be brought,
 It passeþ mannes power, be God þat me bought!
 Nor two fases in a hode^d is neuer to tryst,
 Beþ wele war be-fore, and þenk of *had I wyst*.^e
 For þei hopen and tristen to here of a day,
 To se þe Rose and þe Lione^f brought to a bay;
 Wt þe Egel^g and þe Bere, þat worþi be in fight,
 From þat infortune preserue you God almight!
 And lat not youre sauegardes be to liberalle,
 To your foos þat be turnyng euer as a balle;

^a Edward, Earl of March, whose cognisance of the white rose was derived from the castle of Clifford, and said to have been first used by Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward III.

^b Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

^c The badge of the Earl of Warwick.

^d A proverb as early as the fourteenth century, and which has descended to our own time.

^e A common proverbial expression in the fifteenth century. See MS. Harl. 5300, fol. 18b, 19, 21b.

^f John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, whose cognisance was a lion rampant, argent, for the barony of Segrave. See *Excerpta Historica*, p. 161, *Collectanea Topographica*, vol. iii. p. 60, and *Retrospective Review*, vol. ii. p. 515.

^g Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, beheaded after the battle of Wakefield, 30 Dec. 1460.

And siþe fortune haþe set you hye on hir whele,
 And in youre comyns love, loveþ ye hem as wele.
 For many þat were þe Chayne^h on hir sleve.
 Wole ful fayne youre lyves be-reve;
 And som þat were þe Ragged Bottis,^h
 Had lever were þe Stafford Knottis;ⁱ
 But what þei mene no man it wottes,
 þerfore I counsel, eschewe þeire lottis.
 To telle you more it is no nede,
 By counsel goode, ȝit take goode hede,
 For a Cristmas gestenyng, as clerkis rede,
 At on-set stevyn,^k is quyt in dede.
 Wherfore I counsel you sempely as I can,
 Of youre disposicion telliþ not euery man;
 Muche is in my mynde, no more is in my penne,
 For þis shuld I be shent, might som men it kenne.
 But pray we al to God þat died on a spere,
 To saue þe Rose, þe Lyon, þe Egle, and þe Bere;
 W^t al oþer lordes, trewe to youre assent,
 Her sheld be euer God omnipotent.

Amen.

^h Other allusions to the badges of the Earl of Warwick, the chained bear and the ragged-staff.

ⁱ The cognisance of the house of Stafford, the head of which was the Duke of Buckingham. See *Excerpta Hist.* p. 162.

^k This proverb I recollect elsewhere, but cannot find the passage. *Gestenyng* means feast, as in *Lazamon*, vol. ii. p. 172, and in the romance of *Kyng Alisaundre*, vv. 1161, 1779. *On-set stevyn* is a phrase signifying a time not previously appointed, and is used by Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, v. 1526, and in the ballad of *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, ap. Percy, vol. i. p. 87, ed. 1767.

VI.

VERSES ON THE BATTLE OF TOWTON, 29 MARCH, 1461.

From MS. Trin. Coll. Dubl. D. 4, 18. The fullest account handed down to us by historians of this conflict, is contained in the Fragment printed by Hearne at the end of Sprott's Chronicle, 8vo. 1719. p. 286, in which it is thus related:—"The viage determinyd by the new elect King, Edward the iiith. of the name, to folowe his ennemyes, King Harry the Sixte and his Queene, northward; first, on the morow [5th March], John, Duke of Norfolke, went in to his countrey with all diligence, to prepaire for the warre, on the party of King Edward. And on the Saturday next folowing, the Erle of Warwick, with a grete band of men, departid oute of London northwarde; where as on the Wednisday next folowing, the Kinges footemen [were assembled] in a grete numbrey, of the which the moost parte were Wallshmen and Kentishmen. Then the Friday enswing, the King Edward isswid out of the cite in goodely ordre, at Busshoppisgate, then being the xiith day of Marche, and helde on his journayis, folowing thois othir; and when the fore prickers cam to Ferry-brigghe, theire was a grete skarmusshe, where as John Ratcliff, then Lorde Fitzwatir, was slayne; and theruppon they ever avaunced theime self til thay cam to Towton, viii. myles owte of Yorke, upon a Friday, at niȝt, abyding the residw of theire company, the which were assemblid in goode ordre on the Saturdays, then being Palmesondays evin; and aboute iii. of the klokke att niȝt the ii. batailes joynid, and fauȝt all niȝt, till on the morow att aftir none, when aboute the noone, the forsaide John, Duke of Northfolke, with a fressh band of goode men of warre, cam in to the ayde of the new electe King E. This feelde was sore fouȝten. For there were slayne on bothe partyes xxxiii^m. men, and all the season it snaw. There were slayne therlis of Northumberland and Westmerland, with othir, and Sir Andrew Trollope; and takin, therlis of Devynshire and Wiltshire, and behedid there. And the deposid King Harry, his Queene, with Harry, Duke of Somersett, and othir, in grete hast fledde in to Scotland."

These verses are rendered particularly curious by the enumeration given in them of the badges and banners displayed by the Yorkist Lords, and by the towns which sent troops to assist Edward the Fourth. From the scantiness of information, however, existing on this subject, it has not been found possible to illustrate these allusions so satisfactorily or fully as could have been wished.

Now is the Rose of Rone^a growen to a gret honoure,
Therefore syng we euerychone, I-blessid be that floure!

^a Edward, Earl of March, was born at Rouen, 29 April, 1441.

I warne you euerychone, for [ye] shuld vnderstonde,
 There sprange a Rose in Rone, and sprad into Englonde;
 He þat moued oure mone, þoroughe þe grace of Goddes sonde,
 That Rose stonte alone þe chef flour of this londe.
 I-blessid be the tyme, that euer God sprad that floure!

Blessid be þt Rose ryalle, that is so fresshe of hewe,
 Almighty Jhesu blesse that soule, þt þe sede sewe,
 And blessid be þe gardeyne, þer the Rose grewē;
 Cristes blessing haue þei alle, þt to þt Rose be trewe!
 And blessid be þe tyme, þt euer God sprad þt floure!

Be-twix Cristmas and Candelmas, a litel before þe Lent,
 Alle þe lordes of þe northe^b þei wrouȝt by oon assent;
 For to stroy þe sowthe cuntre þei did alle hur entent,
 Had not the Rose of Rone be, al Englonde had be shent.
 I-blessid be þe tyme, þt euer God sprad þt floure!

Upon a Shrof Tuesday,^c on a grene leede,^d
 Be-twix Sandricche^e and Saynt Albons many man gan blede;
 On an Aswedynsday we levid in mykel drede,
 Than cam þe Rose of Rone downe, to halp vs at oure nede.
 Blessid be þe tyme, þat euer God sprad þt floure!

^b These were, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Exeter, Somerset, Devonshire, Clifford, Roos, and Dacre.

^c The second battle of St. Alban's, in which the Yorkists, under Warwick and Norfolk, were beaten, took place on Shrove Tuesday, 17 Feb. 1460-1.

^d i. e. plain.

^e Saundridge, two miles and a half from St. Alban's. Stowe writes, "At the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, towarde a little towne called Syndridge, in a place called No mans lande, they [the Northern Lordes] hadde a far greater conflict, with fower or five thousand of the Kings armie, which gave the onset so fiercely at the beginning, that the victorie rested doubtfull a certaine time, till at the length, through the withdrawing many of the Kentish menne, with their Captaine, Lovelace, that was the vaward, King Henries part lost the felde." p. 413. He adds, that 1916 persons were slain, of whom, Sir John Gray was the only man of note.

The norþe[r]n men made her bost, whan þei had done þ^t dede,
 " We wol dwelle in þe southe cuntrey, and take al þ^t we nede ;
 These wifes and hur doughters, oure purpose shal þei spede,"—
 Than seid þe Rose of Rone, " Nay, þ^t werk shal I for-bede."
 Blessid be the tyme, þ^t euer God sprad þat floure !

For to saue al Englonð þe Rose did his entent,
 W^t Calays and w^t Londone,^f w^t Essex and w^t Kent ;
 And al þe southe of Englonð, vnto þe watyr of Trent,
 And whan he saw þe tyme best, þe Rose from London went.
 Blessid be the tyme, þ^t euer God sprad þat floure !

The way into þe northe cuntre þe Rose ful fast he sought,
 W^t hym went þe Ragged Staf,^g þ^t many man dere bought ;
 So than did þe White Lyon,^h ful worthely he wrought,
 Almighti Jhesu blesse his soule, þ^t þo armes ought !
 And blessid be þe tyme, þ^t euer God sprad þat floure !

The Fisshe Hokeⁱ cam into þe felde, w^t ful egre mode,
 So did þe Cornysse Chowghe,^k and brouȝt forthe alle hir brode ;
 þer was the Blak Ragged Staf,^l þ^t is boþe trewe and goode,
 þe Brideld Horse, þe Watyr Bouge^m by þe Horse stode.
 Blessid be the tyme, þat euer God spred that floure !

^f lone londone, *MS.* And so again in the last stanza.

^g The Earl of Warwick.

^h The Duke of Norfolk.

ⁱ Lord Fauconberg. So also in the satirical verses in *Excerpta Hist.* p. 161, it is said of him, " The Fisshere hath lost his *Hangulhooke*."

^k Probably John, Lord Scrope, of Bolton, whose cognisance was a Cornish chough. *Retr.* Rev. ii. 515. He was wounded in this battle. *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 218.

^l Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, afterwards Earl of Kent. See *MS. Harl. 6156*, f. 55. *Retr. Rev.* ii. 515.

^m Probably Henry, Viscount Bouchier, afterwards Earl of Essex.

The Grehound and þe Hertes Hede,ⁿ þei quyt hem wele þ^t day,
 So did þe Harow of Caunterbury,^o and Clynton^p w^t his Kay;
 þe White Ship of Brystow, he feryd not þ^t fray,
 þe Blak Ram of Couentre, he said not one nay.
 Blessid be þe tyme þ^t euer God spred þ^t floure!

The Fawcon and þe Fetherlok^q was þer that tyde,
 þe Blak Bulle^r also hym self he wold not hyde;
 þe Dolfyn cam fro Walys, iij. Carpis be his syde,
 The prowde Libert of Salesbury, he gapid his gomes wide.
 Blessid be þe tyme, that euer God spred that floure!

The Wolf cam fro Worcetre, ful sore he þouȝt to byte,
 þe Dragon cam fro Glowcestre, he bent his tayle to smyte;
 The Griffon cam fro Leycestre, fleyng in as tyte,
 The George cam fro Notyngham, w^t spere for to fyte.
 Blessid be þe tyme, that euer God spred þat floure!

The Boris Hede fro Wyndesover, w^t tusses sharp and kene,
 þe Estriche Feder^s was in þe felde, þ^t many men myȝt sene;

ⁿ Possibly meant for Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, although he is not mentioned by our historians, in their account of this battle. See "The most pleasant Song of Lady Bessy," edited by Tho. Heywood, 12^o. Lond. 1829, pp. 51, 65.

^o This and most of the heraldic figures which are subsequently noticed, evidently refer to the banners of the towns which assisted Edward.

^p John, Lord Clinton, is here alluded to, who joined the Yorkist party in 1459, for which his lands were seized, but subsequently restored by Edward IV. I do not understand the allusion to "his Kay." His badge was a *mullet*, nor does he appear ever to have been Lord Chamberlain.

^q One of the badges of the House of York. See Mr. J. G. Nichols's remarks in the *Gent. Mag.* Apr. 1842. p. 379.

^r The Black Bull was used by Edward in reference to his descent from the House of Clare. In the Rolls of Parliament, express mention is made of this standard being carried at Towton by Ralph Vestynden, for which service he received an annuity of £10. Vol. vi. p. 93.

^s The ostrich feather appears on the seals of Richard, Duke of York, and no doubt was

The Wild Rat fro Norhamptone, w^t hur brode nose,
þer was many a fayre pynone, wayting vpon þe Rose.
Blessid be þe tyme, þat euer God spred that floure!

The norþe[r]n party made hem strong w^t spere and w^t shelde,
On Palmesonday, affter þe none, þei met vs in þe felde;^t
W^t in an owre þei were right fayne to fle, and eke to yelde,
xxvij. thousand^u þe Rose kyld in þe felde.
Blessid be þe tyme, þat euer God spred þ^t floure!

The Rose wan þe victorye, þe feld, and also þe chace,
Now may þe housband in the southe dwelle in his owne place;
His wif and eke his faire doughtre, and al þe goode he has,
Soche menys haþ the Rose made, by vertu and by grace.
Blessid be the tyme, þat euer God sprad that floure!

The Rose cam to London^x ful ryally rydyng,
ij. erchebisshops of England þei crouned þe Rose kyng;
Almighti Jhesu save þe Rose, and geue hym his blessyng,
And al þe reme of England ioy of his crownyng,
þ^t we may blesse þe tyme, þ^t euer God sprad þ^t floure!

Amen, pur charite.

used as a royal badge or banner. See Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, 4to. 1827, p. 48.

^t In the Bill of Attainder afterwards passed against the Lancastrians, this battle is spoken of as having taken place "in a feld betwene the townes of Shirbourne in Elmet and Tadcastre, called *Saxton feld* and *Towton feld*." Rolls Parl. v. 477.

^u The number of the slain is variously stated, as pointed out by Turner, vol. iii. p. 231. The number above best agrees with the statement given by a writer in the *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 220, where 28 thousand "nomberd by Harrolds" are said to have perished. No doubt this approaches nearest to the truth.

^x Edward made his triumphal entry into London on 26 June, 1461, and was crowned on Sunday, the 29th following, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with great pomp.

XXVI. *Some Observations on Judicial Duels, as practised in Germany. In a Letter from R. L. PEARSALL (of Willsbridge), Esq., to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 20th February, 1840.

DEAR SIR,

MY attention was drawn towards the present subject by an old manuscript book which I saw, some years ago, in the Royal Library at Munich. It was dated A.D. 1400, and contained a collection of Drawings on vellum, executed by or under the direction of one Paulus Kall, who filled the post of Master of Defence to the then existing Duke of Bavaria. These appeared to have been designed for the use of the Duke, and purported to display the parades and stratagems employed in combats with the different weapons which were in use at the beginning of the 15th century. It seemed, however, to have been more than a mere fencing master's instruction book; for the drawings were accompanied by written remarks, which gave it rather the air of a book of directions as to the conduct of Judicial Combats, showing any one likely to be engaged therein, how he might bring matters to a prosperous issue.

There can be no doubt that, in the middle ages, a Master of Defence must have been an important personage; and if any proof of this were wanting, it might be supplied by the book in question; for in the very first page of it is a sort of pedigree, setting forth the names of several eminent professors standing in the relation of master and scholar to each other; the last of these being Paulus himself, to whom must have descended the science and instruction of many generations. Furnished with this recommendation, he sets forth, in the second page of his book, the most requisite qualities in a

fencing master. These are represented by the drawing of a non-descript animal (Plate XXXI. fig. 1), with the head of a falcon, the breast of a leopard, and the feet of a deer. His right hand grasps a sword, and out of his eyes, heart, and hoofs, spring the following couplets.

Ich habe Augen as ein Falk	I have eyes like a hawk
Das man mich nicht beschalk!	That I my foe may baulk!
Ich habe Herz wie ein Leb ^a	I've a heart like a pard
Das ich hin zu streb!	That I may struggle hard!
Ich habe Fues als ein Hind	I have feet like a roe
Das ich hin zu und dar spring!	To spring about my foe!

After having seen the book of which I have spoken, and some others of a similar character, I entertained a hope of being able to collect information relative to Judicial Combats, which might enable me to render a detailed account of this extraordinary feature in the administration of justice under the governments of ancient Europe. But that hope has been to a certain extent disappointed. Disuse, neglect, and, above all, war, have so destroyed and dispersed the records and sources which might have been useful to me; and these, where they exist, lie so widely apart, that I have abandoned all expectation of acquiring such an acquaintance with the subject under discussion as might enable me to enter on the task. Nevertheless, the particular facts relating to it which I have been able to verify, are so remarkable and interesting, that I have resolved on communicating them to the Society of Antiquaries. Perhaps at a future time they will be of service to some one who may have leisure and inclination to continue the work which I have begun.

The trial by battle, or *Judicium Dei*, as it was technically called, which was exercised in England, seems to have been much more simple than that which was in vogue on the Continent, particularly amongst the Germans.

^a I have translated Leb, pard, in deference to the opinion of a very distinguished German antiquary, who considered it an abbreviation of leopard; but I cannot forbear a suspicion that it may be a corruption of the word *lowe*, i. e. lion; for amongst the upper Germans, b and w were used convertably.

With us it was performed by gentlemen with lance, sword, and dagger, and sometimes with axes (for edge tools seem to have been a peculiar privilege of the aristocracy), and by persons under the rank of nobility with staves and sand bags.

In Germany too, the right of wearing arms on the person seems to have been a jealously guarded prerogative of the greater and lesser nobility; but at the same time plebeians do not appear to have been restrained from using them in judicial combats. On the contrary, the parties to the duel, whether gentle or simple, had the choice of a great variety of weapons.

There is one circumstance, however, which strikingly distinguishes the German judicial duels from ours, viz. that it was considered to be a fitting mode of settling differences between husband and wife. Strange as this fact may appear, it stands well proved in history, and the tracing which I subjoin (Plate XXXI. fig. 2), will give a tolerably clear idea of the manner in which matrimonial quarrels were thus brought to an arrangement.

The rule under which these strange means of adjusting grievances took place is expressed as follows:—

Die Fraw muss als geschicht sin, das ir der Ermel an dem Hembde ein düne Elle für die Hand geet alls ain Segkelin dar ja tut es ainen Stain der da hat iii Pfund und hat nichts als wann das Hembd und das ist zu wissen [*or perhaps* wissen *i. e.* zwischen] den Beinen mit einem Nestl gebunden. Als schicht sich der man in der gruben gegen dem Wybe. Er ist eingegraben bis an den Gurtel, und die aine hand ist dam Elnbogen gebunden zu der Seyth.

The woman must be so prepared, that a sleeve of her chemise extend a small ell beyond her hand like a little sack: there indeed is put a stone weighing iii pounds; and she has nothing else but her chemise, and that is bound together between the legs with a lace. Then the man makes himself ready in the pit over against his wife. He is buried therein up to the girdle, and one hand is bound at the elbow to the side.

These instructions for the apparel and position of the litigants, together with the tracing which I send, are taken from Paulus Kall's book, and probably exhibit the mode of performing this species of duel, in Franconia, previously to the year 1400.

That such duels really took place cannot be doubted, although I have been unable to find any positive record of one later than the year 1200, when a man and his wife are stated to have fought under the sanction of the civic authorities at Bâle.

It seems, however, that the combat between man and wife was not conducted precisely after the same fashion in every part of the empire; for in a book of drawings, in the same library at Munich, executed more than a century after those in Kall's work, there is a representation of a duel between man and wife, where the former, instead of being placed in a pit, is set up in a sort of tub, as exhibited in Plate XXXI. fig. 3.

It will be observed that the woman is here represented in her usual clothing, which is inconsistent with the rule laid down by Kall. I cannot, however, trust to the fidelity of the book which I am now quoting; for, although better executed than that by Kall, it is by no means so minute in details. It professes to describe almost every practicable species of combat, so as to show how a man might scientifically defend himself even with a spade or a sickle; and perhaps the author, for the sake of making his book complete, included there the combat between man and wife,—depicting it more from tradition than from personal experience; for one may fairly suppose that matrimonial spectacles of this sort must have been extremely rare, if not altogether obsolete, at the time when his book made its appearance. But in earlier times, when this kind of duel was practised, it is quite certain that the man was sometimes put in a tub, or some such vessel, because there is an ancient codex of defence in the library at Gotha where he is so depicted; and in one of the drawings he is represented as the conqueror of his wife, having pulled her head foremost into his tub, where she appears with her legs kicking up in the air.^b This fact may, perhaps, explain the attitude of the man in figures 2 and 3; he is evidently holding his baton so that when the wife strikes her sleeve shall twirl round it, which would have placed her under great disadvantage, and enabled him the more easily to perform the crowning manœuvre.

^b This explains why the woman was obliged to have her chemise united between the knees. See fig. 2.

I have met with one instance in an old drawing where the duel between man and wife was represented to have taken place with knives, as in Plate XXXI. fig. 4. But this, as far as I am able to speak from my own researches, is a rare example. The orthodox mode of fighting was, beyond all doubt, with stick and loaded sleeve.

Another even more remarkable species of duel depicted in Paulus Kall's book is that with the "Schilt," that is to say a great oblong shield, constructed so as to form an awkward and cruelly fashioned weapon, fit for attack as well as defence. For a correct notion of this implement the reader is referred to Plate XXXII. fig. 1, which is copied from a drawing that represents the partizans of one of the combatants marching with him, in form, to the lists. He is preceded by the Grieswart^c [Kreiswart], that is to say the waiter of the ring, who in Germany must have played some part analogous to that of marshal with us.^d Then comes the "Lossner," (*i. e.* he that lets the parties loose on each other,) whose office must have been similar to that of the officers at arms who, in our tournaments, proclaimed the "*laissez aller*." He bears, in an upright position, the peculiar shield by which this fight was distinguished, and which was provided with very many means of an-

^c The appointed place of combat was surrounded by palisades and a bar to keep off the crowd. It was called in the old German language *Kreyt--Kryt--Krais--Grais*, and from being in an oval or circular form was sometimes called *der Ring* (circulum). See Frederick Mayer's *Geschichte der Ordalien*, (Jena, 1795,) p. 256.

^d By the manner in which the *Grieswart* is clad, he seems to have been a gentleman, for his coat is trimmed with fur, and furs were prohibited to those under the rank of lesser nobility. Observe his purse and dagger. The former worn out of ostentation, and the latter to protect it. Had the purse appeared alone in his girdle, a stranger's hand might have approached it too nearly; for the owner could not have repelled a suspicious movement towards it, without imputing dishonourable intentions to a man who might possibly be innocent of them: even catching hold of the purse to prevent its being snatched might expose him to some degree of ridicule. But when the dagger kept company with it the case was otherwise; then if a strange hand had wandered into their neighbourhood, the grieswart's own hand might have been on his dagger, prepared to guard both purse and person, and this without making himself either offensive or ridiculous. To have suspected another of an intent to disarm him would have been no insult, for there would have been no dishonour in the imputation; but to have hinted that his purse was in danger would have led to a quarrel. Such was the state of society, A. D. 1400.

noyance. There is the bearded spear on which it rests armed both head and foot. There are four projecting knife blades, together with two saw blades, all of which must have been brought into play; and we shall presently be able to form an idea of the manner in which they were used. Next to the lossner we see the champion himself bearing a species of club, and attired in a very remarkable habit, which seems to have been appropriate to the shield fight. This habit, according to Paulus Kall, consisted of a greyish brown close fitting dress, which left the face, hands, heels, and toes bare. On the head, breast, and back, it was marked with a cross of a particular colour,^e and the several pieces of which it was composed were sewn or laced together with red cord, for the use of buttons in this uniform was positively forbidden, but for what reason I have never been able to learn. By the side of the combatant is to be seen no less a person than Paulus Kall himself. In what capacity he appears on the scene is not expressly stated; but it is not improbable that when once a judicial combat was decided on, each of the principals in it addressed himself to some fencing master of repute, by whose art he profited as much as possible until the moment of action; and that then he was led to the lists by his instructor and waited on by him there, much after the fashion of a second in our prize ring. After Paulus comes the warner, whose office may be presumed to have been that of warning the parties of any thing which might interrupt or affect the duel when once begun.

Whether this duel with a shield was reserved for any privileged classes of the community, is a question which I have not been able to determine; although from some of the drawings in Kall's book, and others in the Gotha codex, it is clear that the preparations for it were very solemn, and so much akin to chivalry in their nature, that one is almost tempted to regard it as a mode of fighting confined to gentlemen, or at least to persons who performed officially the part of champions, and who derived more than ordinary consideration from their being appointed to act in an appeal to the Divinity. For instance, in Kall's book there is a drawing with this superscription:—*Das ist wie sich ainer wappen soll der hinten dem Schilt fechten*

^e In all the drawings which I have seen the cross was either red or yellow; that is to say, if one party had it red, the other had it yellow.

sol [*i. e.* This is how any one shall equip himself who will fight under (or behind) the shield]. The combatant in this drawing appears divested of clothing, except a piece of linen which a servitor is in the act of sewing round his loins, Plate XXXI. fig. 5. Near him is drawn a pewter basin, containing a sponge and materials for washing, and around him are scattered different parts of his dress. Even the presence of the sponge and its accompaniments, seem to indicate that the person here portrayed does not belong to the lower classes; for they, I apprehend, were not in the year 1400 particularly well affected to soap and water, either in Germany or in any other European country. Something similar to this is to be found in the Gotha codex; there also may be seen a drawing in which one of the combatants is represented in a church, apparelled for the combat and kneeling on his shield. He is attended by a servitor, and in the act of receiving from a priest the Holy Eucharist, Plate XXXI. fig. 6. The entire character of this latter drawing seems to harmonise with my suspicion that the shield fight was a combat peculiar to the aristocracy.

Having undergone these preparations, the combatants were conducted to the lists in the manner shown at Plate XXXII. fig. 1. Each brought with him his bier, and was accompanied by his relations and a confessor.^f After they arrived there they appear to have been placed in opposite chairs, and were publicly sworn a customary oath that neither had employed any magic^g or unfair means of procuring for himself the victory. This is manifest from a drawing in the Gotha codex, entitled "*Wie sie vor dem Kempfe schworen*," (*i. e.* how they swear before the combat,) in which each party appears with a sort of banner beside him of the same colour as the cross on his dress. The combatants having thus sworn, there is reason to believe^h that each

^f Schwabisches Landrecht, c. 386, s. 15, 16, 17.

^g In the Schwabische Landrecht the oath appears to be particularly directed against charmed herbs, "*Zauber krauter*."

^h I state this on the authority of a book before quoted, bearing date 1522, which I saw in the library at Munich, in which are a number of drawings of different combats, and amongst them one with this superscription, "*Wie der MEISTER den Spies und Schwert seinem HERRN bringen soll*," (*i. e.* How the fencing master shall bring the spear and sword to his lord.) See Plate XXXIII. fig. 2. This of course is not at a shield fight, and the word *Herrn*

received from his fencing master the weapons with which he fought, and the usual preliminaries being complete put himself on guard. See Plate XXXII. fig. 2.

By other figures will be seen eight of the principal positions of attack and defence. See Plate XXXII. fig. 3, 4; Plate XXXIII. fig. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6; Plate XXXIV. fig. 1.

No. 1. Plate XXXII. fig. 3. Die Heuive [Hiebe] in den Schilt. The mode of striking with the shield.

No. 2. Ibid. fig. 4. Wie man sich schickte hinter den Schilt mit den Kolben. How one prepares to strike with the club, guarding oneself with the shield.

No. 3. Plate XXXIII. fig. 1. Hie suchte ainer den anndr hinter dem Schilt. How one seeks behind his shield [to strike, I suppose] the other.

No. 4. Ibid. fig. 3. Der tritt den auf die Scherpfe seines Schilts. Damit macht er den Hoss und slegt oder sticht mit dem Kolben. The other advances to him the edge of his shield and strikes or thrusts with his club.

No. 5. Ibid. fig. 4. Wie ainer seines Gegners Schilt mit dem Fusse umwendet und schlegt. How one of them kicks round his adversary's shield and strikes him.

No. 6. Ibid. fig. 5. Hie kommen sic in den Wenden und ryszen [reissen] mit den Schilten. Here they come to the wenden (which means, I believe, a manœuvre performed by wheeling round behind the shield, using the spear of it as a pivot for that purpose,) and tear with their shields.

No. 7. Ibid. fig. 6. Aus dem Wenden kommen die harten Hoss. From the wenden they come to hard stabbing.

No. 8. Plate XXXIV. fig. 1. Alhie vollendtsich das vorausgeschrieben. The result of the foregoing.

seems to imply that the fencing master in this case was an officer attached to the household of some person of consequence who was about to fight. I am inclined to think, however, that, whenever he appeared in the lists, he performed towards his pupil similar offices to those which the esquire of the body performed towards his master at our tournaments.

Nos. 9, 10, and 11. Plate XXXIV.
fig. 2, 3, and 4. Concluding scenes
from P. Kall and the Gotha Codex.

It has been already remarked that, in the Gotha Codex, the combatants are represented fighting with a shield differently formed to that in Paulus Kall's book; and I must add, that the former authority gives another variety of shield, which is fashioned so as to be armed at top and bottom with five points or horns, the centre one being barbed, and which was employed in company with a sword, as in Plate XXXIV. fig. 6. I have seen in an old drawing yet another variety of this kind of shield, which was used with a spiked club, as in Plate XXXV. fig. 1.

The third species of combat which I shall here notice was performed with a sword and a small shield, called "*der Hutt*," that is to say, the hat. There was one of these¹ existing at Munich in 1832, which is represented in the upper part of Plate XXXV. fig. 2, and which resembles a modern hat in nothing excepting its size. Nevertheless there was a sort of hat worn, about the year 1430, which bore a resemblance to the shield in question, strong enough to justify its application. This will be evident to any one who looks at the following head adjoining, which I copied from a monument bearing that date, in the churchyard at Swäbische Halle, in Wirtemberg. The ordinary mode of employing this hat-fashioned shield, appears in the combat in the same plate and figure taken from Paulus Kall's book. Another mode of employing it, cited by the same authority, is seen at Plate XXXV. fig. 3; by which it appears to have been slipped over the blade of a sword managed with both hands, and to have been used as a sort of basket hilt, but with what advantage I cannot well understand. I have particularly noticed this species of shield, because I am convinced that it was of great antiquity, and that it derives its name from a hat or casque having been originally used as a buckler. This appears highly probable when we remember that it was only the wealthy who, in the middle ages, could afford to purchase a complete suit of iron armour. The common soldiers went to battle with scarcely any

¹ It was in a room over the Royal Riding School, forming part of a suite of chambers, where the King's saddles are deposited, and where were also a great number of interesting family relics in the way of arms and implements of hunting.

thing else of iron on their persons than their casques. The covering of their bodies was usually of leather or felt. Now it is very clear that where a man's person was only defended by a helmet, he might make it, in single combat, more generally useful by fastening the laces together and using it, in his hand, as a shield for the general defence of his body, than by keeping it on his head for the especial protection of that particular member. This very obvious idea may have led to a system of defence with the hat, which must have been of great advantage to those who had no other defensive armour.

When once such a mode of defence was discovered, a necessary result of it would be the manufacture of shields in the form of hats, with a bar of iron, or a stout thong, for a handle. Thus the implement in question would have arrived at its maturity, and its shape might be varied by fashioning it accordingly as taste or advantage might dictate.

The reader will no doubt recollect Robin Hood and his men, and how each had

“A short sword at his belt, a buckler scarce a span,”

which must have been the small shield anciently used by the English yeomen, specimens of which are now, I believe, rare. What appellation might have been given to these, in very early times, I have not been able to discover, although their resemblance in point of form to the flat hats, or rather caps, worn by the bluecoat boys, and the fact of these having been a common and very ancient appendage to the head, justifies one in thinking it more than possible that the old yeoman's shield might (like the German *Hutt*) have derived its form from the above mentioned flat cap, which with an iron plate inside of it, might be made available for defence. If I could find any authority for calling these small targets hoods, I should begin to think that Robin Hood himself might have owed his name to some particular address in managing them.^k

^k I cannot quit this topic without mentioning incidentally a sort of shield, used in Germany, and of which I never remember to have seen any specimen in England. Its form will be learnt from the drawing underneath (Plate XXXV. fig. 4.) which, in the year 1830, I took from the original, which I found in the castle of Eltz, near Moselkern, in the ancient Electorate

The next mode of duel which I shall present to the reader is that with what the Germans call the *streit-axt*, or battle-axe. It is, however, different in shape from the weapon to which we apply the latter name, and the combatants who fought with it, appear to have been armed in addition with sword and dagger. This duel differed from that with the shield, inasmuch as it was executed by combatants armed *cap-a-pie*. There is in the Gotha Codex a drawing, representing the preparation and equipment for this, and I presume other combats fought out in complete armour (Plate XXXVI.) entitled, "*Dass ist wie sich ainer versorgen sol der zu gewapenter Hand fechten sol.*"—This is how any one shall provide for himself who shall fight with an armed hand. I should judge from this drawing that the combatant was not washed but anointed. The different parts of his dress

of Treves. It was made of hard wood (beech, as it seemed to me) and covered on both sides with a sort of strong parchment. The colour was dark brown, variegated with yellow spots and dashes, rudely done, as represented in the drawing. Its height was about an English yard, and at the broadest part it was nearly two feet across. The escutcheon in the centre did not contain the arms of the Eltz family; and I doubt, indeed, whether the arms of any particular family were intended to be displayed by it. The inside of this shield was a simple reverse of the outside. But the handle was gone. In the year 1832, I saw, at Augsburg, in the arsenal there, another specimen of this sort of shield. It was perfect, but worse made, and somewhat smaller than that at the castle of Eltz. On the inside was an iron handle or means of fixing it, as is seen in the same figure. They called it in the arsenal a "*Hunnenschild*," i. e. a shield used by the Huns. I doubt it; because the Hungarians always fought light-armed on horseback, and this shield, from its weight (for it was very heavy) would have been an incumbrance to a light horseman; besides the proper Hungarian shield was quite of a different form (Plate XXXV. fig. 5). Let me add, that there is, cut in bas-relief, on a monument in St. Sebald's church at Nürnberg, a representation of one of these shields. There is also in the plates to Froissart, a representation of a soldier at the siege of Aubenton, carrying a shield, somewhat similar in form, over his back (Plate XXXV. fig. 4). It may have been used on the *back* in scaling walls; for, from the shape of the iron in the inside, it seems unlikely to have been used on the arm; but that iron would answer very well in slinging it on the back. Perhaps it may have been a cross-bowman's shield; for they used large targets at their backs. These they turned to the enemy while they were employed in winding up their bows, which was usually performed in a kneeling posture (excepting where the double winch was used) and thus their persons were, during that operation sufficiently protected; and it was only at the moment when they shot that they were much exposed to danger.

are particularised, but no shirt appears either here or in the drawing which shows the mode of attiring for the shield fight.

Some idea of the attack and defence with the battle-axe may be gathered from certain other figures taken from P. Kall's book (Plate XXXVII.), where they are furnished with the following superscriptions :

Wie die sich gegen ain ändern
schichen sollt mit der Axe.

How they shall prepare themselves
one against the other with the
axe.

1. Das erste Anbinden mit der Axe.
2. Die erste Suchunge (?) uff dem Axe.
3. Die annder Suchunge der
karebeln und zugken.
4. Setze abe und heyket ine wider.
5. Setze abe und winde auf, und . . .
das ryszen bey dem Halse.
6. In gleichem dorch mit dem winde
snelle so. [This is written on one
side of the combatants: on the
other side of them is written,]
Anbinden thiesse dainen ort,
und nimbt du jme die Axe.
7. Und ob er dir lat die Axe, furgeen
und will dir die furder hand le-
dig macken, zugkt er sohemige
nach und setze jme an. Oder
rysze jm by dem Halse.

1. The first set-to with the axe.
2. The first attempt [to do mischief
I suppose] with the axe.
3. Other attempts — crippling and
tugging.
4. Parry and hack him in return.
5. Parry, spin round and the
tearing at the neck.
6. Then immediately turn quickly
round to—grapple thus in your
position [original difficult to un-
derstand here] and take his axe
from him.
7. And if he seeks to do your fur-
thermost hand a mischief, try
to do the same by him, or tear
him at the neck.

N.B. This is not literal. The terms
of the original are antiquated and
difficult to understand; but the
general import is given.

8. Das ryssen gel aus dem vorges-
chriben Slück.
9. Also stiche jne wann du jne ne-
selingen zugkeht.

8. The tearing, which concludes the
beforementioned manœuvre
9. Stab him thus when you can be
tween the lacings of his armour.

10. Represents the vanquished champion lying on the ground with his sword placed as in the drawing. There is no inscription in the original; but it seems intended to shew the orthodox mode of arranging the corpse of the defeated party.

The last mode of duel to which I shall here refer, is that performed with the great two-handed sword. The figure (Plate XXXVIII. fig. 1.), taken from Paulus Kall's book, will give a sufficient idea of the mode in which this weapon was handled. It is said that some part of the French army (probably some of the Swiss regiments) was armed with it, even so lately as the time of Louis the Fifteenth; and that in the hands of a strong and skilful man it was an almost irresistible means of attack. But so much room was required to wield it effectually, that it could never be used with advantage at close quarters, and therefore it was at length abandoned.

There is a peculiarity in the dress of the figures in Paulus Kall's book which is worth remarking, namely, that the people represented there, wear a sort of long stockings fastened to a waistcoat by means of buttons or points on the thighs, and at the back by a sort of lace. These stockings (Plate XXXV. fig. 2.) may be what was formerly called "a pair of hose:" and we may perhaps conclude, that the more complete article, which we call breeches, was not invented, at least amongst the Germans, when Kall wrote his book, *i. e.* in the year 1400. Neither is any trace to be found there of an important appendage to the nether garments which distinguished the attire of the trumpeter in *Tristram Shandy*. *That* seems to have been added subsequently to cover a baldness in the ancient costume; and, being at length incorporated with it, produced the modern pantaloons.

I must not omit to mention that on a torn sheet in the Gotha Codex there are drawn several weapons unaccompanied by any verbal description. These are given (Plate XXXVIII. fig. 3.) The use of all but No. 11, is evident. This last I do not well comprehend. It seems to be a weapon grasped in the middle, and affording a means of stabbing both upwards and downwards.

Neither can I take leave of my subject without mentioning the name of

Professor Massmann of Munich, to whom I am indebted for much information on it, and whose kindness placed at my disposal many tracings and drawings which have been most useful to me. Owing to the difficulty, which I have before stated, of obtaining proofs, the present article is not so complete as I could wish it to be; but such as it is, I do myself the honour of presenting it to the Society of Antiquaries.

R. L. PEARSALL

London, July 26, 1839.

APPENDIX.

AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

APPENDIX.

Ancient Copper Bowls found in Lothbury.

21st June, 1838. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. submitted to the inspection of the Society, two Copper Bowls (Plate XXXIX.) discovered in digging the foundation of the New London and Westminster Bank. They were found at the depth of about ten feet, in a wet boggy soil, to which their good preservation must be ascribed.

One of these bowls, 11 inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ deep, bears engraved in the centre a full-faced crowned female figure, seated, and clothed in a tunic with full hanging sleeves; over the left shoulder is worn an embroidered mantle, which conceals the arm on that side, and descends gracefully in front to the feet. The mode in which this mantle is fastened, is concealed by a veil or coverchief, which falls from beneath the crown, and covers the shoulders; in each hand is held a flat circular object. This central figure is repeated four times on the sides of the bowl; namely, twice full, and twice side faced: in the latter position, the mantle is worn over the right arm. These side figures are canopied by segments of circles, and in each quarter of the bowl is a cone-shaped ornament; the hollow of the dish is worked with concentric circles.

On the other bowl, 10 inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ deep, are cut in a similar style four figures of animals inclosed within semi-circular and other ornaments of dotted and zigzag lines. The engraving is very inferior to that on the former bowl, which is executed with good taste and feeling, and affords an interesting specimen of early engraving on metal.

The shape and material of these vessels indicate their applicability to so many purposes of a domestic kind, that we can only argue from the nature of the figures engraven on them, that they may have been intended for a special use.

The costume of the females (four of which are mere repetitions of the central one), denotes rank and royalty, but the position of the hands shews that the circular bodies are not globes, as symbols of power, as may at first sight be imagined. The posture of the seated figures is that of distribution or dispensation, which leads to the inference that the circular objects may be intended to represent cakes or bread, given either in hospitality or as alms, so that the bowls may either come under the denomination of dole dishes, or be considered as merely forming a portion of the dinner service of the festive board.

In the Anglo-Saxon dialect, *hlæfige*, lady, is literally a dispenser or server of bread, and the representation may be allusive to the use of the dish.

The Empress Maud appears on her seal, in a costume which bears a considerable analogy to that of the central figure on this bowl; at the same time, it is known that the long hanging sleeve was worn earlier than the eleventh century, and examples of it may be seen, among other works, in Mons. Willemin's "*Monumens Français Inédits*."

The Hunting Horn of Charlemagne.—Epitaph of the Empress Fastrada at Mentz.—The Sword of Charlemagne.—The Hunting Horn of Roland.—Hunting Horn at Greystoke Castle.

5th Dec., 1839. The following letter was read, addressed by HENRY HOWARD, Esq. of Corby, F.S.A., to John Gage Rokewode, Esq. F.R.S., Director.

"MY DEAR SIR,

Corby Castle, 19th June, 1839.

"I send some drawings, collected at different times, during my stay on the Continent; hoping that on some evening meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, when there is little of importance before them, that they may not be unacceptable to the gentlemen with whom I have the honour to be an associate. They all relate nearly to the same era.

"No. 1 represents the hunting horn of Charlemagne, preserved in the treasury of Aix la Chapelle. The baldrick is of crimson velvet, and the legend is, that it was given to the Emperor by Fastrada, his favourite wife; but I think that the letters cannot be of such early date. The words are *Dein* and *eyn*, frequently repeated; *Thine* and *one*. This is rather enigmatical; possibly it may be interpreted, '*I am thine, and we are one*.'

"No. 2 of Fastrada's tomb-stone, I also send the inscription, taken with great accuracy:—

FASTRADANA PIA CAROLI OMNIVM VOCATA
 CRISTO DLECTA LACET HOC SVB HARMORE TECTA
 ANNO SEPTINGENTESI NONAGESIMO QVARTO
 QVÆ NVHERVM HETRO CLAVDERE HVSA NEGAT
 REX PIE QVÆ GESSIT VRGO LICET HIC CINESCET
 SPIRITVS HERES SIT PATRIE QVÆ TRISTIA NESCIT
 A 9 2

QVÆ FASTRADANÆ CORAM MONUMENTA TVERIS,
 HAUD ISTO PRIMUM FIXA FUERE LOCO ;
 AEDE SED ALBANO SACRA CESISQUE PROPINQVI
 MARTYRIBUS CLARO VERTICE COLLIS ERANT.
 NUNC, EA QUOD PERIIT FLAMIS HOSTILIBUS AEDES,
 MOTA LOCIS ZELO SUNT MONUMENTA PIO.

"She was the third and favourite wife of Charlemagne; of the blood of the ancient Dukes of Thuringia. The Emperor had married her at Worms in 783, and she died during the Council of Frankfort in the year 794. History relates that he was so inconsolable at her loss, that he could scarce be induced to leave her body, till it became no longer supportable, and that he would never return to his palace at Ingelnheim, where he had lived with her, and which he had built at very great expence, having brought many of its columns from Ravenna. He then began the palace and church at Aix la Chapelle, where he died in 814.

"Fastrada, who is accused of cruelty in disposition, was buried in the abbey dedicated

to St. Alban, built on a hill near the city of Mentz, by Rucholf,^a its third archbishop. The Emperor and Fastrada were great benefactors to it. This abbey was burnt down in 1329; rebuilt; but demolished in 1552, by Albert Margrave of Brandenburg. This inscription was saved by John Count Nassau, and placed in the Cathedral of Mentz: it is however believed that there had been a renewal of the ancient epitaph, put up by the monks of St. Alban's, in the 13th and 14th century.

"No. 3 is a drawing of the Sword of Charlemagne, with which the Emperors were girt at their Coronation: in performing this ceremony, four of the Electors took part, and with it he immediately conferred the honour of knighthood on some principal persons. The first of these knights was, by rule, of the family of Dalberg; the herald proclaiming, 'Ist Hein Dalberg da?' 'Is there no Dalberg here?' Upon which the head of the family stood forth, and was knighted as the Emperor's first act. Lady de Dalberg Acton, the only daughter of the Duke de Dalberg, is the representative of this family; and in the account of the Tournaments in Germany, it appears that one lady of the name gave one of the prizes at the first tournament held at Magdebourg in the year 936.

"The sword is of the finest temper, and the ornaments of its handle and sheath are in the purest Arabian gold. The tradition is that it was sent to Charlemagne by Haroun al Rashid, the renowned Cailiff of the Abasside dynasty. It was claimed by the Emperor of Austria, and has been removed from Aix la Chapelle to Vienna.

"No. 4 is the Hunting-horn attributed to Roland, drawn under my own eye at Toulouse in 1815. It was preserved in the cathedral of Toulouse, the capital of Aquitaine, which was built by Louis le Debonnaire, Charles's successor, and is now in the museum of that city. I have inscribed on the paper the legend belonging to it. The figures appear to me to be of the same description as those on the horn of Charlemagne, nor are they very different from the style of those on the horn of Ulphus at York.

"No. 5. I have also added a fac simile of figures I have traced from another ancient hunting horn obtained in Germany, and which is now at Greystoke Castle, nor does the style much differ from the figures on the golden horn at Copenhagen, given by Olaus Wormius.

"I remain, dear Sir, very sincerely yours, HENRY HOWARD."

^a The French Benedictines, in the *Art de Verifier les Dates*, state that Riculf the third archbishop of Mentz repaired the tomb of St. Alban, who had come to that city, "On ne sait d'ou." I think it may be surmised that this was a church dedicated by his two predecessors, St. Boniface and St. Lullius, who were English, to the protomartyr of their country, and that Alcuin, who was his friend, might use his influence with him, and with the Emperor and Fastrada, to found the monastery to his honour. Riculf died in 813, and he and several of his successors were buried in that church.

Epitaph of the Empress Fastrada.

12th Dec. 1839. WILLIAM BROMET, M.D., F.S.A., communicated the following observations upon the monument of the Empress Fastrada, mentioned in the preceding paper.

"This monument is an oblong tablet now placed against the north wall of Mainz cathedral, although, as the more modern inscription imports, *that* was not its original position, but in the church of Saint Alban, which stood formerly on an eminence outside the city walls, and where Fastrada was buried A.D. 794, her silver spindle being at the same time suspended over the High Altar. The '*flammæ hostiles*' which the same inscription states to have destroyed this church were those of the Markgrave of Brandenburg, in the year 1552; and the '*pious zeal*' which removed this stone to the cathedral was that of Count John of Nassau, who, having rescued it from the ruins of the church, concealed it more than twenty years, and finally re-erected it, A.D. 1577, in the situation it now occupies near the entrance to the Chapter House.

"Respecting the real age of this monument, some may doubt whether it be the indetical one put up by Charlemagne, because of a date engraved on it in Arabic numerals, and which it is believed were not then in European use. But, as this date is an unnecessary repetition, it being embodied in the preceding inscription; and, moreover, if we observe the small distance between the lower line and these figures, compared to the distances of the upper lines; keeping in mind, also, the great regularity and neatness of inscriptions on the monumental tablets of every era, I am of opinion that this date was added at some after-time when such characters were undoubtedly employed.

"We must all agree with Horsley that the date of an inscription may be almost certainly known by the form of its letters and variety of the ligatures by which they are connected. I consider, therefore, that the chief interest of this monument consists in the occasionally unusual forms of the letters D and M, circumstances corroborative of its high antiquity. The ligatures are common on many remains of the lower empire but the form of the M, I can only discover as somewhat similar to the same letter in Teutonic alphabets; it may possibly be one of the letters half-Roman, half-Gothic, said to have been used in Charlemagne's reign before those called *Caroline*, from having been introduced by him and the literary men he so eminently patronized.

"The leonine style of verse in which the older inscription is couched, may by others be thought to invalidate its claim to high antiquity. But it is yet unproved that such verses were not employed in the time of Charlemagne.

"The existing inscription is engraved on a slab of sandstone, and it has been inferred from the word 'marmore' that the original was on marble, but this term was no doubt here used merely metonymically.

"Fastrada was one of the last but best beloved consorts of Charlemagne. She had, however, too much influence over him in political affairs, and was withal of so cruel a disposition that, as Eginhard informs us, Pepin, the son of Charlemagne by Hemiltrude, conspired to assassinate his father, who thereupon condemned Pepin to monastic confinement.

"In concluding these imperfect remarks, we cannot but commend the 'zeal' that has lately again preserved from future decay a monument which for the reasons above given I must regard as an original offering of Charlemagne. If, however, I am deceived, the inscription has been so faithfully copied from the original as to answer every useful purpose of the true antiquary, relative to the form of its letters and their ligatures or connections, and which I here again express myself as considering the most curious characteristic of this interesting monument."

Antiquities found near Brighton and Lewes, in Sussex.

27th Feb. 1840. DR. MANTELL, F.R.S., exhibited to the Society four armillæ, of bronze, an ornament presumed to be a torques, and a celt, found in a Roman encampment, at Hollingbury Castle, near Brighton; one of the many earthworks on the summit of the downs. Also a small bronze figure of a Cupid, without wings, found at Stanmer, near Brighton, together with two celts of flint, from tumuli, near Lewes, in Sussex; a stone amulet, from a tumulus, at Mount Caburn, near Lewes; two button ornaments, of a garment, and a gold ear-ring, found on the Downs, near Brighton; and an ornamented ball, of considerable size, found in an urn, of unbaked earth, on the same Downs.

Engraved Stone in Brading Church, Isle of Wight.

March 19 and 26, 1840. Two letters were read from W. H. ROSSER, Esq. F.S.A. accompanying the exhibition of a rubbing, from an engraved sepulchral stone in Brading Church, in the Isle of Wight.

"The foot of the stone lies against the feet of the altar table, and thence stretches under the gate of the altar rails to the extent of eight feet, the head of the stone forming the exterior step, from which use, for nearly four centuries, the upper part of the engraving is lamentably injured. The person commemorated was Constable of Porchester Castle, and died in 1441. The Inscription is as follows:—

"Hic jacet nobilis vir Johannis Cherowin armiger, dum vivebat connestabularius castri de Porcestre, qui obiit anno d'ni mille^{mo} quadringen^{mo} quadrage^o. primo, die ultima mens. octobris. Anima ejus requiescat in pace. amen."

"Since our last meeting I have discovered the family of the person described as Constable of Porchester Castle. In Gwillim's Heraldry, the following arms: Argent, fretty gules, a chief azure, (being the same with those on the first and fourth quarters on the stone,) are stated to belong to the family of Curwen, of Workington and Sella Park, in the county of Cumberland, where they appear to have been seated at a very early period.

"On a further search in the History of that County, I find they were descended from Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, temp. William I. The name was formerly *Culwen*, from a place so called on the sea coast of Galway, where they appear to have been originally settled before they came into Cumberland. Sir Christopher de Culwen, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, (about the same period when the individual in question was Constable of Porchester Castle,) was twice sheriff of the county by that name, and a third time, in the same reign, by the name of *Curwen*.

"This sets at rest all question about the name of the person commemorated, as it was before rather doubtful whether the altar rails covered or not the first letter of the name, but there is no doubt now that the name is engraved on the stone '*Johannes Cherowin*.'

"In the account of the family in Hutchinson's History of Cumberland there is no mention of their possessing lands in the South of England. The appointment therefore of John Cherowin or Curwen appears to have been one of a military nature, without reference to any local connexion."

The Volvelle, and on Chaucer's Treatise on the Astrolabe.

19th March, 1840. JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. communicated to the Society the following remarks on the nature of the Volvelle, an astronomical instrument mentioned by Chaucer, and on Chaucer's treatise on the Astrolabe.

"The term Volvelle, which occurs in Chaucer's works and afterwards in Skelton's, has never yet been satisfactorily explained. From three independent sources I am enabled to prove that the curious vellum astronomical Instrument found in a manuscript which I now have the honour of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries, is a genuine Volvelle. This enables me to give a most perfect explanation of the object and use of the instrument.

"The most obvious practical generalization of the particular forms of astronomical tables must be made to depend upon revolving instruments, and in the age of manuscripts what more useful or appropriate method than a representation on vellum? Such an instrument is the Volvelle, whose nature we now proceed to describe, taking especial care to warn the reader not to confuse it with a similar Arabic instrument, likewise mentioned by Chaucer, and called the Torquete.

"In the Ashmolean collection of manuscripts at Oxford, No. 191, is a little tract in English, called "The Rewle of the Volvelle." In the Library at Lambeth Palace is another similar treatise, with a Volvelle itself, in very fine preservation. And in MS. Sloan. 1620 (fol. 6, r^o.), is a tract in Latin, entitled, "Regula tabule Volvelle." From these three manuscripts I am enabled to explain the instrument.

"The first and outer circle contains the division of the twenty-four hours, and also quarters of hours; the second contains the twelve months; the third, the twelve signs of the zodiac, with the division of the degrees; the fourth, the times the rising of the sun and moon; the fifth, the meridian altitude with degrees; the sixth, the age of the moon; the seventh and last shows the aspects of the sun and moon. Chaucer calls the aspects by the following names:—A conjunction; a syxtile; a quartyle; a tryne; and an opposition.

"I do not think it out of place here to refer to the treatise of Chaucer on the Astrolabe. I have previously stated^b that this treatise is only a translation: this was discovered by Mr. Reuben Burrow, an orientalist and mathematician of the end of the last century, and his notice of the fact is preserved among his papers, now the property of my friend Professor Davies of Woolwich. The manuscript of this Treatise in Sancrit is preserved in the Library of the East India House. Chaucer's translation only extends to the first two books of the original treatise, although it is evident from his list of contents that he had intended a

^b Gent. Mag. for April, 1839.

translation of the whole. It is probable that it was translated by Chaucer from some French or Latin treatise, whose existence is not now known; and that this again came from the Arabs during the Crusades, and which in its turn came from India, or possibly direct from China. See *Professor Davies's History of Magnetical Discovery*, p. 257.

"From a colophon in a MS. of Chaucer's treatise on the Astrolabe, in the Public Library at Cambridge (Dd. iii. 53), it appears that Nicholas Strode was the tutor of Chaucer's son, when at Oxford. I do not know whether there is any other authority for this fact, but do not consider it likely to be incorrect."

"Speculum Christiani."

26th March, 1840. Observations on the contents of the *Speculum Christiani*, and on its real author: communicated by JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A.

"The '*Speculum Christiani*' was one of the most sensible and least violent of the Lollardic writings, and singularly enough has escaped the notice of every historian of the English Church, although it held a most deserved popularity throughout the fifteenth century. The spirit and style in which it is written is worthy of the highest commendation, and so carefully does it avoid the disputed points of doctrine, that, although Lollardic, as complaining of the then moral abuses in the Romish church, the most zealous Roman Catholic would scarcely complain of it as a whole, save and except that a portion of it is unfortunately written in English,—'truly in itself,' says Walden the Anti-Wickliffite, 'a most detestable crime.'

"The '*Speculum Christiani*' commences with a brief discourse on the proper manner of preaching, prefacing with a quotation from Jerome:—'In the beginning of every work devoutly say the Lord's prayer, and imprint the sign of the cross, saying 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.' 'Magna differentia est,' observes our author, 'inter predicationem et doctrinam,' and he quotes a number of the Fathers to the same purpose, ending with the following forcible passage from St. Gregory:—'Priests are damned for the people's wickedness, if they teach not the ignorant and reprove sinners for their misdoings, for wicked priests are the cause of the mischiefs of the people.'

"After these preliminary observations, the author divides his work into eight tables or sections, which we now proceed to analyse:—

"*Prima Tabula.* Of the articles of the Catholic Faith.

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3 C

"*Secunda.* Of the ten commandments and the two precepts of the Gospel.

"The Commandments are rendered into English verse, and I have printed them at p. 49 of the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, from a manuscript of the *Speculum Christiani*, preserved in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge.

"*Tertia.* Of the seven works of mercy; of the seven principal virtues; of what is to be done when the righteous man dies; of what is to be done when the wicked man dies; and of doomsday.

"*Quarta.* Of the seven deadly sins.

"In this section also occur English verses, which are printed at p. 136 of the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, from the manuscript already mentioned.

"*Quinta.* On sins and vices; on what prevents a man from sinning; and on what draws a man to sin.

"The commencement of this section is in English.

"*Sexta.* On a certain king who had four philosophers in his kingdom, and on their orthodox doctrine.

"The version here given exactly coincides with that of the same tale printed by Mr. Wright in the notes to his *Political Songs*, p. 386. It is very probable that this is the original of the story in its present form, and the quotations after each proverb are so very similar to those in the other part of the *Speculum*, that it is scarcely possible it could have been taken from another source.

"*Septima.* On the book of wisdom; and on morality. With a few English verses.

"*Octavo.* A sacramental prayer; a hymn to the Virgin; two moral ladders of conduct, one to heaven and the other to hell; with various short theological scraps.

"A few lines entitled '*Peccata Britonum et causa depositionis eorum*,' place the state of public morals in this country at the lowest possible ebb. A short section *de decimis*, enjoining people to pay their tithes regularly, is most singularly curious from the simplicity of its reasoning.

"From the number of manuscripts of the *Speculum Christiani*, all of the fifteenth century, and from the allusion in the title, '*Peccata Britonum et causa depositionis eorum*,' we may reasonably assign the commencement of that century as the date of its composition."

On the Author of the Speculum Christiani.

"The MS. No. 155 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has the following colophon:—*Explicit Speculum Christiani quod Dominus Joannes Watton*; from which Tanner and Warton have concluded that John Watton was the author of this work, and in this they have been followed by every other writer. From this colophon, indeed, it

is doubtful whether he were the transcriber or author; but the Harleian MS. No. 6580 having a similar colophon—*Explicit quod Dominus Byrde*, completely overthrows the probability of either one or the other having been the author.

"In Casley's Catalogue of the old Royal Library, I find two manuscripts of the '*Speculum Christiani*,' noticed under the references 8 E. V. and 9 A. XV. The second of these manuscripts has most unfortunately been destroyed by fire; but Casley in both places gives John Morris, a Welshman, as the name of the author. In the manuscript remaining there is no trace of any author's name; but it can hardly be doubted that Casley must have had good reason for his assertion, especially as he was so very correct in matters of this nature. The title before mentioned, viz. '*Peccata Britonum, et causa depositionis eorum*,' is also an argument in favour of the author's country having been Wales.

"These considerations are of themselves nearly sufficient for us to conclude that John Morris was the genuine author; but further evidence would be very acceptable. I have carefully examined every manuscript of the work in the libraries of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and have discovered nothing in any of them relative to its author.

"The deficiency of internal evidence is remarkable. With the exception of the title above quoted, I have not met with any thing that leads me to even a conjecture on the source of its compilation; nor have I discovered any contemporary notices of it. I will now proceed to describe a few of the most important manuscripts, premising that the different copies vary very slightly from one another.

"1. MS. Addit. Mus. Brit. No. 10,052.

"A small quarto volume on vellum of the first half of the fifteenth century. From Heber's collection, No. 1449; purchased for £5. It contains as well a little tract called '*Speculum Religiosorum*,' by Walter, a canon of the Holy Trinity in London. In the sale catalogue of Heber's books, the two tracts are confused with one another.

"2. MS. Lansdowne, No. 344.

"A duodecimo volume on vellum of the fifteenth century.

"3. MS. Harleian, No. 2250. fol. 50, v^o.

"A folio volume on paper of the fifteenth century. This copy of the *Speculum* is slightly abridged. It has a colophon at the end, which shows that the MS. was transcribed in the year 1477:—'*Explicit Speculum Christiani: Anno Domini M^o. cccc. lxxvij^o.*'

"4. MS. Coll. Corp. X^{ti}. Oxon. No. 155.

"A quarto volume on vellum of the fifteenth century. This is the MS. above-mentioned as containing the name of Watton as the transcriber. The opening passage from St. Jerome is wanting.

" 5. MS. Bodl. Laud. No. 513.

" Formerly under the press-mark of G. 12. A quarto volume on vellum of the 15th century. There are three other similar MSS. in the Bodleian, Laud. 104; Bodl. 61; Hatton 97.

" 6. MS. Harleian, No. 6580.

" A small quarto volume on vellum of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It is an English translation, but very carelessly performed.

" 7. MS. Harl. 206. ff. 17—60.

" A folio on paper of the 15th century. This is the MS. which Mr. Wright mentions in the notes to his Political Songs, but he does not allude to the story he quotes as forming a part of the *Speculum*.^c

" The *Speculum Christiani* was printed at the end of the 15th century by William de Machlinia, in a very poorly executed quarto volume, and as we are told in a colophon, at the expense of Henry Vrankenburgh, a merchant of London. In the copy belonging to the British Museum are the following not very intelligible lines in MS. at the end:—

‘ A lerned boke,
Who listeth loke,
In it shall fynd.
As tyme was than
To teache eche man
Still to contynue blynde.’ ”

Bridge at Stratford-le-Bow.

2nd April 1840. A further communication upon the subject of the Bridge at Stratford-le-Bow, subsequent to the removal of the old structure: by ALFRED BURGESS, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ In the paper you did me the honour to present to the Society of Antiquaries in June 1836, I promised to make a further communication upon the subject after the removal of the old Structure.

“ As the bridge has been entirely demolished since that paper was written, I am now enabled to redeem my promise by giving some further particulars connected with its construction, and also a drawing of the old structure from measurements taken at the time.

“ The arches were constructed nearly as stated in my former Paper; the piers were

^c Other MSS.—M. 25 Coll. Ball. Oxon; Trin. Coll. Dubl.—H. 66; MS. More, Bib. Publ. Cantab. No. 63.

faced with Kentish rag-stone, the interior filling or hearting being of rubble-masonry composed of stones of all shapes with the interstices filled with mortar, the whole of which was so firmly cemented together, that its removal was only to be accomplished, in any moderate time, by the application of gunpowder.

"The foundations of the piers were laid upon a bed of gravel a few feet below the river without piling of any kind. Rough stones and mortar appear to have been thrown through the water till the surface was raised sufficiently high to allow a more careful method of building to be pursued; but with all this apparent want of care the bridge was without fracture or settlement.

"The wear and tear to which it necessarily had been exposed, the frequent alterations that had been made, and the repairs it had undergone since its erection, occasioned much uncertainty in ascertaining those portions of the old fabric belonging to the original structure. It was evident that the outside of the piers had been cased and repaired at different periods, and the arches of modern date; it was therefore expected that the interior of the piers would furnish a specimen of original workmanship; but in this I was disappointed, for the whole was of rubble-masonry, a description of work not possessing any of those distinguishing forms of construction by which the period of its formation could with any degree of certainty be estimated, neither was I assisted in this inquiry by the method resorted to in founding the piers, although it goes far to prove the antiquity of the structure.

"Some very ancient masonry was however found in one of the abutment walls; which had escaped injury by being covered to a considerable depth with earth. This was also of Kentish rag-stone, in small and regular courses, presenting a very neat and uniform appearance; the backing was also of rubble masonry nearly similar to that of the piers.

"The remains of some pointed piers and buttresses were also found, forming part of the land abutment; these doubtless were carried up of the same figure to the parapet, where they formed breaks or recesses, for the convenience of pedestrians retiring into upon the approach of carriages, a convenience generally found in most of the old bridges of this country.

"The form of the river piers and the old buttresses just noticed suggested the sketch upon the accompanying drawing, shewing the bridge as it appeared previous to the alterations of 1746.

"The roadway of the bridge was originally very narrow, only sufficient for the passage of one carriage at a time; and, as the upper surface of the stones composing the arches was originally exposed to all the wear of the traffic, very considerable injury was done in consequence, deep and dangerous ruts were formed in the line of the trackway of the wheels, and holes worn by the tread of the horses, so much so, that in one instance it

was observed to have gone quite through the stonework of the arch. The roadway between the arches, although partially paved, shewed the same irregularity of surface; and the approaches at each end of the bridge must have been most inconveniently steep, as the line of the old roadway was distinctly traced.

"It would appear from the injured state of the arch stones (which were of the hardest description of Kentish rag-stone) that a very considerable length of time must have elapsed between the completion of the arches, and the roadway being covered with gravel.

"However sparing the first builders were in the application of that material, there were no grounds for complaint afterwards; for, at the removal of the bridge, was found no less a depth than three feet six inches over the crown of the arch, a complement sufficient for a bridge of much greater magnitude.

"A roadway as just described, is therefore interesting as conveying some idea of the miserable plight of the public roads at a period when travelling must not only have been necessarily very tedious, but also dangerous. To record the state in which the upper surface of the arch stones were found, the section on the right of the drawing was made from measurements carefully taken.

"Before closing this paper it may be proper to state that in the course of the removal of the bridge but few articles of any interest were found, and those of trifling value; a few brass tokens, some small silver coins, two or three ancient keys, and the head of a spear, comprise nearly all that is worthy of notice. One of the tokens bears the date of '1569 at Bow,' and the other inscribed, 'Edward Robertes, Bowe Bridge,' but without any date."

Halnaker House.

9th April, 1840. The following Letter, from DR. BROMET to Sir H. Ellis, was read, accompanying six Views of Halnaker House, in Sussex, representing it in its ancient state.

"DEAR SIR, Some representations of the arabesques on the carved panelling, formerly in Halnaker House, having been lately presented to the Society, and as I am unaware of any other original drawings of the house itself than three, by Mr. Grimm, in the Burrell collection at the British Museum, it may not be uninteresting to exhibit the accompanying six views, made on the spot, shortly previous to the demolition of this ancient seat, though not before the false taste of ivy-planting had concealed its most intelligible features.

"No. 1 is a view of the castellated front, of which the south-western tower, on account of its materials and construction, was probably built by Robert de Haya, in Henry the First's time. But the embattled gateway and curtain walls are so enveloped with ivy that the very extraordinary form of its flanking turrets is scarcely discernible; I have therefore presumed to give such a perspective elevation of one of them as I conceive it once displayed, making it appear something like an embattled flying buttress, with a lofty semicircularly-arched passage through its flank in front of the wall, to which, at the upper part, it was attached, and where alone it had the usual form of an octangular gateway-turret.

"No. 2 represents the back, or north side of the castellated front.

"No. 3 is a view of the south front of the mansion, erected by Thomas, eighth Lord De la Warr, K.G., early in the reign of Henry the Eighth; but the sculpture and escutcheons which enriched its various gables, the orieled porch and wide bay-windows, are buried in a shroud of ivy. A long gallery of brick, with moulded brick chimnies, and a private chapel, occupied the eastern side of the court previously to 1804, when they all tumbled down.

"No. 4 is a view of the back part of the house, the well-shed, and other offices, built by Sir William Morley in 1633.

"No. 5 is a representation of the carved oaken screen at the lower or west end of the great hall. The plain posts seen above the music gallery are mere modern supports to the ceiling, which is itself also comparatively modern. The two escutcheons at this end are those of La Warr quartering Cantilupe, and impaling Bonville and St. John.

"No. 6 is a painting, better shewing the entrances to the buttery and pantry than No. 5, which was made since the hall windows became obscured by their mantle of ivy.

"I regret having lost my painting of the wainscoted east end of this hall. Mr. Grimm, however, has well detailed its several twelve escutcheons, representing the royal arms of England and Aragon, and the principal bearings and cognizances of the West family and its ancient alliances,—now, we trust, secure at Buckhurst. But the most interesting of these panels are two bas-reliefs over the cellar doors. That in the south-eastern corner is the full front-face of a burly English toper, having on either side an ale tankard, under the motto "Com in and drynge." Over the other door is the head and shoulders of a young foreigner-like man, between two storks, which are in the attitude of drinking, and over them this inscription—"Les bien venús." Both these heads are in flat Tudor caps, and were possibly portraits of the respective keepers of the beer and wine cellars. The fire-place has long since been stripped of its casing.

"At the extreme west end of the house is the kitchen, which was very lofty, and provided with luffer-boards. The spacious fire-place was surmounted with eight or ten spit-racks, and sundry hooks for salted meat. A rusty roasting jack remained, and

assisted once, annually, to cook the court-leet dinner. Here were likewise two large coppers; and, in the north-west corner, a crane for hoisting up the carcase of a sheep or pig,—while, from a small elevated casement near the north-eastern corner, the house-keeper's directions were issued. A long table and forms, similar to those depicted in the hall, a few high-backed coroneted chairs, and a handsome chimney-piece, in a large upper chamber, constituted the sole relics of the costly furniture with which this dismantled mansion had been formerly adorned.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WILLIAM BROMET, M.D., F.S.A."

To Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S.,
Secretary A.S.

Culver Hole, Glamorganshire.

9th April 1840. A letter was read from the Rev. JOHN MONTGOMERY TRAHERNE, M.A. F.R.S. & S.A. to the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. dated Coedriglan, Cardiff, March 28, 1840, transmitting two drawings (Plate XL.) and a ground-plan of Culver Hole, situated in a cliff of mountain limestone on the south coast of the peninsula of Gower, in Glamorganshire, three miles east of Oxwich Castle, and two miles eastward of Pavi-land Cave, so well known from the researches of Professor Buckland in 1823.

Originally it was only accessible by a ladder, but the action of the sea has undermined a portion of the wall at its base, so that an entrance may now be effected from the beach at low water, except when the aperture is closed up with pebbles.

The term Culver Hole is, doubtless, derived from the scaffolding holes in the wall, represented in the drawing of the interior.

That the structure is of considerable antiquity is highly probable. No tradition connected therewith exists in the family of C. R. Mansel Talbot, Esq. M.P., who inherits Oxwich Castle through the Mansels and Penrices, from the Delameres, its lords, in the 12th century.

Whether it was a stronghold attached to the neighbouring castle, or the domicile of pirates, must be matter of conjecture.



Exterior View of Culver Hole.



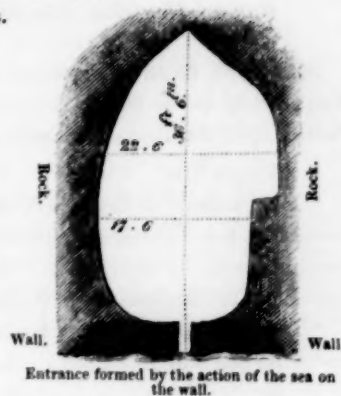
Interior View of Culver Hole, looking towards the entrance showing the steps in the masonry.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 25th 1842.

J. Bence, del.

Dimensions and Ground-plan of Culver Hole.

	feet.	inches.
The height from the ground to the bottom		
of the lowest arch or entrance . . .	18	0
Do. do. to the bottom of		
the walling	61	6
Thickness of the wall at the lowest arch .	10	6
Length of the interior of the chasm .	36	6
Breadth of do. as per figure	{ 22	6
	{ 17	6

*Grant of the Lordship of Gower to Oliver Cromwell, 24 Cha. I.*

9th April, 1840. Mr. HOOPER, on the part of his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, exhibited to the Society the original Grant of the Lordship of Gower, in the county of Glamorgan, the property of the Marquis of Worcester, from the Long Parliament to Oliver Cromwell, as Lieutenant General of Fairfax's army. The grant purports to be from Charles the First, whose effigy fills the area of the letter C, at the commencement of the deed.

The deed begins—"Carolus Dei Gratia Angliæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes Literæ," &c.

And is dated—

"Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium decimo quarto die Aprilis, anno Regni nostri Vicesimo quarto."

At the bottom, separately—

"Per Ordinationem Parlamenti."

Fragments of the Great Seal are still remaining appended to the deed.

Roman Remains discovered in the Caves near Settle in Yorkshire.

30th April 1840. The following letter was read from CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, accompanied by another letter from Mr. Jackson of Settle, upon the Roman Remains discovered in the Caves above-named :

"DEAR SIR,

"Lothbury, April 17, 1840.

"Mr. Jackson, of Settle in Yorkshire, has sent me, for the inspection of the Society, several Roman remains discovered in the autumn of 1837, in some Caves in the neighbourhood of that town. He has given a plan of these caves, which will serve materially to illustrate and elucidate his descriptive letter.

"The remains consist of fibulæ, and an armilla in bronze; a curious specimen of an enamelled stud or button; beads in glass and in jet, the latter of which are encased in stalagmite; ornaments or amulets in bone; some rudely-cut hooks in bone; fragments of pottery, and coins. The bones of animals which have been transmitted with the above, appear to be those of the hog, the bear, and the water-rat, and among them one human tooth. The coins, with the exception of a much corroded second brass Nero or Vespasian, and one or two third brass of Constantine, are of that undefinable class which succeeded the legitimate brass currency of the Romans, and were probably in circulation for some centuries after the departure of that people from Britain.

"The collection (equally interesting to the antiquary and to the naturalist) is sufficient to induce a more extended search into these caves, which seem, from the facts detailed by our correspondent, to have been used as temporary places of refuge by the Romanized Britons in the troublesome times, at, and posterior to, the close of the fourth century.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

"CHARLES ROACH SMITH."

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.

Sec. S. A.

"SIR,

"Settle, April 4th, 1840.

"The caves, in which were found the various articles sent for your investigation, are situated in a long ridge of limestone rock about two miles north-east of Settle, from whence the ground gradually rises.

"When you come to the foot of the rock, you have to climb about fifty yards, among loose stones and rubbish, which have fallen from above.

"The rock rises (from the entrance of the caves) perpendicularly, to the height of 250 feet; and the general aspect of the country immediately around it is precipitous and barren, and the view from the cave circumscribed by the surrounding hills.

"The entrance was nearly filled up with rubbish and overgrown with nettles. After removing the obstruction, I was obliged to lie down at full length to get in. The first appearance that struck me on entering was the large quantity of clay and earth, which seem as if washed in from without, and present to the view round pieces like balls of different sizes. Of this clay there must be several hundred waggon loads, but abounding more in the first than in the branch caves. In some parts a stalagmitic crust has formed, mixed with bones, broken pots, &c. It was on this crust I found the principal part of the coins, the other articles being mostly embedded or trodden in the clay, i. e. in the apartment marked A in the plan. In the other caves very little has been found. When we get through the clay, which is very stiff and deep, we generally find the rock covered with bones, all broken, and presenting the appearance of having been gnawed.

"The entrance into the inner cave had been walled at the sides, and two upright stones also, all embedded with clay. In the inside were several large stones lying near the hole, any one of which would have completely blocked it up by merely turning the stone over. I pulled the wall down, and the aperture is now about a yard wide and two feet high. On digging up the clay, at about nine or ten inches deep, I found the original floor; it was hard and gravelly, and strewn with bones, broken pots, and several of the articles herewith forwarded.

"The roof of the cave was beautifully hung with stalactites in various fantastic forms and as white as snow. I have sent several small pieces of different kinds of pots, of which I possess larger specimens, some of them slightly marked, but not one perfect.

"I have visited ten other caves within a mile of the one described above; these are 150 to 200 yards long, and which I have no doubt, if properly examined, would be found to contain similar remains.

"The larger brooch I found nearly at the entrance of the second cave embedded about eight inches in the clay. The pin was sticking out, and seemed as if it had been wrapped in a quantity of hair, or something of the sort.

"I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

"JOSEPH JACKSON."

TO MR. CHARLES ROACH SMITH,
London.

Gold Ornaments from Meroé, in Nubia.

30th April, 1840. JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq., Director, exhibited some gold ornaments found at Meroé, in Nubia, accompanied by the following letter, addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary.

“DEAR SIR HENRY,

“The gold Ethiopian objects which I have the honour to exhibit to the Society, consisting of a scarabæus, two links of a tau necklace, a jackall or Nubian dog, and a bell, were bequeathed to me, with other things, by a lamented friend, who died, in 1835, at Kunio, in Asia Minor, on his return to England from travels in Egypt. These objects were purchased by him from Signor Ferlini, a stranger, coming back from Nubia, whom my friend, and another English gentlemen, travelling together, met in December 1834, at Korrosko, the place where the caravans from Sennaar make the Nile.

“This Ferlini, who was accompanied by an Albanian merchant, with a train of women and slaves, bringing with them wild animals and birds of the country, produced an extraordinary collection of Ethiopian Antiquities, acquired by excavations, which he represented to have been recently made, chiefly in the ancient city of Meroé. With difficulty he was prevailed upon to part with a few of the objects, including the gold ornaments now exhibited.

“In 1837 Ferlini printed, at Bologna, an account^d of his excavations in Nubia, with a catalogue of the various singular objects found by him. I have lately seen a copy of this memoir, and it would appear that he was a Bolognese, ultimately in the Greek service, attached, in 1829, as surgeon or physician to an army hospital in the neighbourhood of Grand Cairo, from which he removed, the following year, to the military station at Sennaar, where he remained until he received, in 1834, permission from the Pacha to make excavations in Nubia.

“According to his memoir, the gold objects exhibited, and others of a similar nature, were found, with a variety of precious ornaments, within a cist in the apex of a considerable pyramid at Meroé. In a plate annexed to the memoir he gives an elevation of the pyramid, and also drawings of many of the objects found by him. Figures 2, 5 & 10, in the plate, are representations of objects similar to three of the four now exhibited to the Society; golden bells are mentioned in the catalogue, but are not represented in the plate. All these objects exhibited were used as ornaments of dress, strung by means either of rings or holes.

^d Cenzo sugli Scavi nella Nubia, e Catalogo degli oggetti ritrovati dal Dott. Guiseppe Ferlini, Bolognese — Bologna, Tipografia Nobili et Comp. 1837.

"I may perhaps without impropriety add, that according to Ferlini's statement two bronze vases were found in a cist in the centre of the same pyramid, both of which are figured in the plate described. One of them bears some resemblance, particularly in the form of the handle, to the enamelled vase found in the great barrow at Bartlow.

"I am, dear Sir Henry, yours faithfully,

"JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE."

Achievement of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

4th June 1840. RAWDON BROWN, Esq. exhibited to the Society, a drawing of a sculptured achievement, (Plate XLI.) discovered by him at Venice in 1839, and since presented to Henry Howard, Esq. of Corby Castle, which he ascribes to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

Mr. Rawdon Brown, in a letter addressed to the President of the Society, gave the following account of the discovery, together with an explanation of the achievement.

"During his residence at Venice in 1836, in perusing Casimir Freschot's *Blazonry*, intituled, 'Li pregi della Nobiltà Veneta, &c.' Mr. Brown's attention was called to a wood cut, page 138, of the achievement described, and remembering moreover how Mowbray

'———there at Venice gave

His body to that pleasant country's earth.'

Richard II. Act 4. Sc. 1.

and having found in the MS. Diaries of Marin Sanuto a confirmation of Shakespeare's assertion, in the request made in the month of December 1832, to Carlo Capello the Venetian Ambassador then resident in London, by Thomas third Duke of Norfolk for his ancestor's remains, (and which passage was subsequently printed at p. 311 of the third volume of Mr. Brown's notices concerning Marin Sanuto,) it appeared probable to him that the shield recorded by Freschot might have been part of the Mowbray tomb. This tomb was placed originally in St. Mark's Church; but on the removal of the Duke's ashes in 1533, found itself transplanted, and in the year 1682 (the date of *Li pregi della Nobiltà Veneta*) was under the gallery of the Ducal Palace in front of St. Giorgio Maggiore, where it remained until the fall of the Republic; but in 1836, on Mr. Brown's inquiry of the Librarian, Cavalier Bettio, concerning it, he was told that it had been removed by a master mason employed in repairing the Ducal Palace some years previously. Mr. Brown, as this person was no longer alive, now applied for information to his brother and heir, and who also died about a year after the inquiry, but could

obtain no clue to his search. Stimulated however by the energies of Mr. Howard of Corby with whom Mr. Brown was in communication, he again renewed his inquiries, and the wood cut alluded to being shewn by his gondolier, Marianno Garrizzo, to Domenico Spiera, an intelligent mason, he instantly recognized it as the representation of a slab of Istrian marble which he himself had preserved in the following manner.

"In the summer of the year 1810, he was in the service of a master mason named Andrea Padoan, who had contracted for the repairs of the Ducal Palace, especially those of the balustrade of the Doge's terrace; and the Mowbray slab being then in a store at the back of the Giant's Staircase, he (Spiera) was desired by a French police agent high in authority, to deface and place it as a paving stone, or ledge, for the balustrade; but this he was loth to do, in the first place because of the Lion, for he regretted the fall of the Republic, and was partial to her emblems, many of which he had been instrumental in saving, some twelve years before; besides, he said it was a beautiful work of art, and, in fine, after being twice sharply reproved for his dilatoriness, the policeman at length ordered a corporal to superintend the slab's destruction: but Spiera contrived to turn it, and commencing his operations on the banner, instead of the swan, placed the shield, thus slightly mutilated, on the terrace as desired; whence with his aid (given at great personal risk) and that of Marianno, Mr. Brown obtained its removal on the last day of the year 1839."

Mr. Howard, in a communication to Mr. Brown in the month of January following,^c remarks that in a collection of Drawings in the British Museum, is a drawing, without any comment, of this achievement. It shows that the border now wanting in parts of the slab sculptured, surrounded the whole. He adverts to the facts, that the White Hart lodged within paling, occurs at Westminster Hall, and other places, as the cognizance of Richard II.; and that the White Swan was the well known badge of Henry Duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry IV. in right of his wife Mary Bohun.

Mr. Brown submits the following explanation of the achievement.

"The banner is that of Richard the Second, borne by the Lord Marshal for England, and the three feathers those of the Principality of Wales, which, owing to the King's having no son, remained merged in the Crown from the year 1377 till the murder of Richard in October or November 1399.

"The Swan, that of Henry surnamed Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford (and who after his cousin's murder became King with the title of Henry the Fourth) is chained to the staff of the banner, and to the Collar of SS, to denote his being of the blood royal, and the obligation perhaps on account of such consanguinity for his being protected by the helmet of the White Hart (Richard II.) from the Mowbray Lion,

^c More extensive observations made by Mr. Howard on the achievement will be found in the supplementary addition to his History of the Howard family.

whose cap of maintenance is still united to Richard's helmet, although necessity and the ties of kindred induced the extension of that favour to Bolingbroke, which however misplaced had not severed the link of affection that connected Richard the Second and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk."

Silver Dish, and other Vessels, found in Suffolk.

4th June, 1840. The following letter from JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq. Director, to Sir Henry Ellis, was read, accompanying a silver dish, exhibited by the Rev. F. T. H. Barnwell, and a service of mixed metal, found at Icklingham in the same county, exhibited by Edward Acton, Esq. of Grundisburgh, near Woodbridge.

"DEAR SIR HENRY,

"The silver dish exhibited by Mr. Barnwell (Plate XLII.) was found in December, 1839, by a labourer in ploughing a field, called the second Alder Carr, at Mileham, in Norfolk, the property of Mr. Barnwell. This field lies within sight of the castle at Mileham, which belonged to the Fitz-Alans, and also in sight of Longham, whence the Devil's Ditch runs to Newmarket.

"The dish is singular in its form, being a square of 15 inches, with a shallow hollow within 12½ inches in diameter; and stands on a circular base half an inch high. It has a beaded border, punched; and is ornamented with foliage and a pattern round the hollow; and in the centre are concentric circles, with a foliated pattern. The dish weighs 69 ounces, and the silver is 7 pennyweights finer than the ordinary standard.

"The objects exhibited by Mr. Acton consist of one large, and two very small flat round dishes or plates; two deeper round dishes; and one square dish; one amphora, two standing dishes, with octagonal borders, and a little pan: all these vessels are of mixed metal.

"These objects were found, at Icklingham in the month of April, 1839, on heath land, which workmen were trenching for the purpose of floating. Mr. John Gwilt, the owner of the estate, in a letter to the writer, dated 3d May last, states that he happened to be present at the time the objects were discovered; and that they lay about 18 inches from the surface, and it appeared as if they were committed to the ground in great haste. He adds that while searching the spot he found two small Roman coins of the second brass, the inscriptions nearly defaced.

It is particularly to be observed that the square dish is of the same character as the silver dish found at Mileham.

"I am, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

4th June, 1840.

"JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE."

Odiham Castle, Hampshire.

18th June, 1840. SIR EVERARD HOME, Bart. F.R.S. and S.A. exhibited to the Society a ground plan of Odiham Castle, in Hampshire (Plate XLIII.), accompanied by an outline of the interior, expanded from the angles of the octagon, which form its shape.

The walls are 10 feet thick, built with flints grouted in mortar. The buttresses project from the walls four feet, and are two feet in substance.

In the interior the windows on the ground floor are nearly even with the ground; five steps lead to them, each six inches deep and twelve inches broad: a plain surface of eight inches wide forms an inclined plane on each side.

Tile Pavement of the Chapter House, at Westminster.

14th Jan. 1841. LEWIS N. COTTINGHAM, Esq. F.S.A. in the following Letter to Sir Henry Ellis, communicated the result of an examination of the floor of the Chapter House at Westminster:—

"DEAR SIR,

Waterloo Bridge Road, January 14th, 1841.

"The Committee of the Two Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple, being exceedingly anxious that every part of their Church should be restored and adorned in the most correct manner, I obtained permission, through the kindness of Sir Francis Palgrave, to examine the floor of the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey, for specimens of painted tiles. In company with my friend Mr. Savage, under whose able direction the Temple Church is being restored to its legitimate character, I proceeded to the Chapter House; and, having ascertained that the patterns of the ancient pavement were laid in slips about three feet six inches wide, from east to west, we directed a portion of the boarded floor to be removed, across the room from north to south, when, to our great delight, we found the original pavement in a very perfect state, with scarcely a tile broken, and the colours, in many parts, as brilliant as when it was first laid. The

tiles appear to have had the coloured figures inserted into stamped or indented lines. The patterns consist of circles and other geometrical forms, divided by narrow borders; all the tiles and borders are figured, and wrought with leopards, lions, flowers, foliage, and other subjects. The tiles are of various sizes, according to the pattern required, the smallest being about five inches three quarters, and the largest about nine inches and a half square.

"Specimens of the various patterns, correctly traced and copied from the originals, accompany this slight notice of their discovery; among them No. 1 may be considered of the highest interest. The two figures on the left represent St. John the Evangelist, in the garb of a pilgrim, requesting alms of Edward the Confessor. However fabulous this story may now seem, the greatest credit was given to it in former ages; and Edward the Second, at his coronation, in allusion to it, offered at the altar, in the abbey church, a pound of gold, fashioned like a King, holding a ring in his hand; and eight ounces of gold, made like a pilgrim, extending his right hand to receive it. The other figures represent Henry III., his Queen, and a mitred Abbot, seated on state chairs, listening to the notes of ancient minstrelsy. No. 6, is a pattern of the border laid round the room at the foot of the steps, by which you ascend to the stone benches. The pattern is very like the fine wheel window at the end of the north transept of the abbey church.

"No. 9, is one compartment of two borders, running east and west through the room, on each side of the central cluster column. The arms are those of Henry III. the chimerical figures filling the spandrels, formed by the point of the shield, are of the same pattern as those found on the walls of the old Painted Chamber at Westminster.

"No. 2. The cock and the fox, emblems of vigilance and subtilty, are of frequent occurrence in the decorations of monastic buildings.

"The other designs show great delicacy in the patterns and execution, and the whole floor, when open to view, must have presented a gorgeous display of the exquisite taste of the gothic Architects of the middle ages.

"I remain, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

"L. N. COTTINGHAM."

Queen Elizabeth's Letter to the Emperor of Cathay, 1602.

28th January, 1841. SIR HENRY ELLIS, by the kindness of Mr. Hogarth of Portland Street, was enabled to lay before the Society the original Letter, written upon

vellum, which Queen Elizabeth prepared and despatched, as the credential for George Weymouth, in his Voyage of Discovery in 1602, addressed to the Emperor of Cathay. It has a richly illuminated border upon a red ground, and is signed at the bottom by the Queen in her largest sized hand. The seal which was appendant to it, is now loose; but of a type which has not been heretofore engraved.



The royal arms have lions for supporters at the sides of the shield, upholding feathers. The Queen's name and style inscribed round. The vellum letter was accompanied by separate translations on paper in Italian, Latin, and Portuguese.

"The history of this curious document, and the cause of its being still found in the country in which it was penned, will be best explained by an extract from Sir John Barrow's Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions, p. 164—169, in which is the following account of George Weymouth's expedition.

"Several years had passed away without any new attempt being made on the part of the maritime nations of Europe, to discover a nearer passage by the north to India and China. The English, however, could not see with indifference a lucrative commerce carried on with the Eastern world by the Spaniards and Portuguese without endeavouring to enjoy a participation thereof. The successful expeditions of Sir Francis Drake in 1578, and of Candish in 1586, had sufficiently proved to the nation the great

value of oriental commerce. The several attempts to establish a share of that commerce by a shorter route than those of the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn having failed, the merchants of London determined to try their fortune by the former of these known passages; not, however, so much with the view of forming a legitimate trade with the natives of the East, as of obtaining wealth by the more cheap and expeditious mode of plundering the Portuguese. With this design, Captain George Raymond, having fitted out a ship of his own, called the *Penelope*, and accompanied by two others, the *Merchant Royal* and *Edward Bonaventure*, set sail in 1591 for the East Indies. The voyage, however, was most disastrous. The *Royal Merchant* returned from the Cape full of sick men. The *Penelope* had scarcely doubled the Cape when she was lost: and the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain James Lancaster, after an unsuccessful voyage, was lost on her return, in the West Indies. But Lancaster sent home, or is supposed to have sent home a piece of information, which gave a new stimulus to northern discovery. In a postscript to one of his letters, he says, 'The passage to the Indies is in the north-west of America, in $62^{\circ} 30'$ north.' But this postscript, then believed to be genuine, has since been supposed to be an interpolation.^f

"It served, however, to revive the hopes of the mercantile part of the nation; and in 1602, the worshipful merchants of the Muscovy and Turkey Companies fitted out, at their joint expense, an expedition intended solely for the discovery of a North-west Passage towards China. It consisted of two fly-boats, the one of seventy tons, named the *Discovery*; the other of sixty tons, called the *Godspeed*—the two carrying five and thirty men and boys, and victualled for eighteen months. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Captain George Weymouth, who, for the better success of the voyage, as he tells us, was provided with 'a great traveller and learned minister, one master John Cartwright.'

"They departed from Radcliffe on the 2nd of May, 1602. On the 18th June, in lat. $59^{\circ} 51'$ N. they fell in with the first island of ice, stretching to the northward beyond the reach of sight; and, on the same day, saw the south part of Greenland. In standing to the westward the sea was perfectly smooth, but the water so black, 'and as thick as puddle,' that they conceived it to be very shallow; on heaving the lead, however, 'they could fetch no ground with one hundred and twenty fathoms.' On the 28th they saw land in lat. $62^{\circ} 30'$, which they thought to be the land of America: but it was only Warwick's foreland, on Resolution Island. In proceeding to the westward they passed several banks of ice, and again fell in with black water, occasioned probably by the soil, which the ice-bergs frequently bring away in their disruption from the land. Again they supposed that they discovered America in lat. $63^{\circ} 33'$, but they could not approach it on account of the vast quantity of ice which encircled the shore. Proceeding to the north-

^f Burney's Voyages and Discoveries.

west they passed four islands of ice 'of a huge bignesse;' the fog became so thick that they could not see two ships' lengths from them, and the sails, ropes, and tackle were frozen so stiff that they were unable to handle them. The thick fog is represented to have frozen as fast as it fell, in the middle of July, and the stiffness of the ropes and sails made them useless. On the 19th of this month the crews conspired secretly together, while the captain was asleep, to bear up for England, and keep him confined to his cabin: but he discovered the plot in time to prevent it. They stated their reasons in writing, which were these: 'that if they should winter between 60° and 70° lat. it would be May before they could attempt any thing; and that by the 1st May, the following year, they could be in those latitudes well fitted and fresh from England; but that they were willing to encounter any danger in making discovery, either in 60° or 57° of latitude,' and after this, they accordingly, 'one and all,' bore up the helm and steered to the southward. The captain, however, had the resolution to punish the ringleaders most severely, and only remitted a part of the punishment at the intercession of Master Cartwright, the preacher, and of the master. Being near to an island of ice, the boats were sent to load some of it for fresh water, but as they were breaking some of it off, 'the great island of ice gave a mightie cracke, two or three times, as though it had beene a thunder-clappe; and presently the island began to overthrow, which was like to have sunk both our boats.'^g

"An inlet is described in 61° 40', not much pestered with ice, and forty leagues broad, within which Weymouth says he sailed a hundred leagues west and by south, but which we now know must have been impossible. Indeed the whole account of Weymouth's proceedings is so confused, that little or nothing can be drawn from it, except that he was among the islands to the northward of Hudson's Strait, and probably those of Cape Chidley; and though he calls every land he fell in with the 'land of America,' it is quite clear that he never came near the American coast, except that part of it which he continued to range from the 5th to the 14th July, when he discovers an inlet in lat. 56°, up which he sailed thirty leagues, entertaining sanguine hopes of a passage through it. This inlet corresponds with Sleeper's Bay, or Davis's Inlet. On the 8th August he arrived at Dartmouth.^h

"The voyage of Weymouth was a complete failure. He reached no higher than lat. 63° 53'; 'hee neither discovered,' says Luke Fox, 'nor named any thing more than Davis, nor had any sight of Greenland; nor was so farre north: nor can I conceive he hath added any thing more to this designe; yet these two, Davis and he, did, I conceive, light Hudson into his Straights.'

The Queen's letter, here produced, was found upon opening an old closet in the house

^g Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol. iii. p. 812.

^h Ibid. p. 814.

of Lady Farmer, of Chester, last year, and with it various other letters and documents of the same and rather a later period.

"ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland Defendor of the faith &c. To the great, mighty, and Invincible Emperour of Cathaia, greeting. Wee haue receaued dyuers and sondry relaçons both by our owne subiects, and by others, whoe haue visited some parts of your Mat^{ie} Empire and Dominions, wherby they haue reported vnto vs aswell your invincible greatnes, as your kynd vsage of strangers that resorte vnto yor Kingdomes with trade of merchandize, w^{ch} hath wrought in vs a desire to fynd oute some neerer waye of passage by seas from vs, into your cuntry, then the vsuall frequented course that hetherto hath byn houlden by compassing the greatest part of the world; By which neerer passage, not only opportunity of entercourse of traffique of merchandize may be offred between y^e subiects of both o^r Kingdomes, but also a mutuall league and amity may growe, and be continued, between yor Mat^{ie} and vs, o^r Cuntries and Dominions being in their distance of scituacōns not so farr remote, or seuered, as they are estranged and vnknown the one to the other, by reason of the long and tedious course of Nauigaçōn hetherto vsed from theis parts vnto you; To which ende wee haue heretofore many yeares past, and at sundry tymes synce, made choice of some of o^r Subiects, being a people by nature enclyned to great attempts, and to the discouery of Contries and Kingdomes vnknown, and sett them in hand wth the fynding out of some neerer passage by seas into yor Mat^{ie} Contries, through the North or East parts of the world, wherin hetherto not preuayling, but some of their ships neuer returning back agayne, nor being heard of synce their departure hence, and some of them retourning back agayne being hindered in their entended voyage by the frozen seas, and intollerable cold of those clymates; wee haue yett once more, of o^r earnest desire to try the vttermost y^t may be done to pforme at length a neerer discouery of yor Contrye, prepared and sett fourth two small shippes vnder y^e direction of our subiect and seruant George Waymouth, being y^e principall Pylott of this p^{re}sent voyage, a man for his knowledge and experience in nauigaçōn specially chosen by vs to this attempte, whom if it shall please God so to prosper in his passage, y^t either hee or any of his company shall aryue in any port of your Kingdome, wee pray yor Mat^{ie} in fauor of vs, who haue soe desired y^e attayning this meanes of accesse vnto you, and in regard of an enterprize pformed by hym and his company wth so great difficulty and danger, y^t you will vse them wth that regard y^t may gyve them encouragem^t to make this their newe discovered passage, w^{ch} hetherto hath not byn frequented or knowne by any to become a vsuall frequented trade from theis p^{ar}te of y^e world to yor Mat^{ie}. By w^{ch} meanes yor contrey may hereafter be serued wth the natyue cōmodities of theis parts of speciall seruice and use, both for yor Mat^{ie} and subiects, and by returne and enterchange of your contrey comodities, wee and our subiects may be furnished wth thinges of lyke seruice and vse; out of w^{ch} mutuall benefitt

amity and frendshipe may growe and be established between vs, wch wee for our part will not lett hereby to offer vnto you for the honorable report wch wee haue heard of yo^r Ma^{tie}. And because in y^{is} first discouery of the waye to yo^r cou^{tre}y, it seemed to vs not convenient to ymploy shippes of that burthen wch might bring in them any great quantity of o^r natyue cōmodities wherby they might be pestered, wee did resolue to vse small shippes as fittest for an vnknown passage, laden for y^e most part wth such necessities as were of vse for their discouery; it may please yo^r Ma^{tie}, by the p^{ar}ticulars of such things as are brought in theis shippes, to vnderstand y^t of goods of those kyndes o^r kingdome is able to furnish yo^r Ma^{tie} most amply, and also of sundry other kynds of merchandize of like vse, wherof it may please yo^r Ma^{tie} to be more p^{ar}ticularly enformed by the said George Waymouth, and his company, of all wch upon significacō vnto vs by yo^r Ma^{ty} L^{tes} to be returned by o^r said subject, y^t our visiting of yo^r Kingdomes wth our shippes and merchandize shalbe acceptable and kyndly receiued, wee will in the next fleet wch wee shall send vnto you make it more fully appeare what vse and benefitt o^r amity and entercourse may bring to yo^r Ma^{ty} and contrey. And in the meane tyme do cōmend yo^r Ma^{ty} to the protection of the eternall God, whose prouidence guideth and p^{er}serueth all Kinges and Kingdomes. From our Royall Pallace of Greenwich the fourth of Maij, an^o. Dñi 1602 and of o^r Raigne 44th."



(Superscribed) To the Right High, Mighty, and Invincible Emperour of Cathaye.

Ancient Bone Skate found in Moorfields.

18th Feb. 1841. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society an ancient bone Skate, accompanied by the following remarks, in a Letter to Sir H. Ellis.

"In illustration of the antiquity and progressive improvement of one of our popular pastimes at this season of the year, I beg to submit to the inspection of the Society a Skate, of the kind in fashion among the citizens of London in the time of Henry the Second.

"It is formed of the bone of some animal, made smooth on one side, with a hole at one extremity for a cord to fasten it to the shoe. At the other end a hole is also drilled, horizontally, to the depth of three inches, which might have received a plug, with another cord to secure it more effectually.

"It was found, about two years since, in Moorfields, near Finsbury Circus, in the boggy soil peculiar to that district. Its identity is, I conceive, fully established by the following passage in Fitz-Stephen, from his description of the sports of the citizens of London in his days: 'When that great moor, which washeth Moorfields at the north wall of the city, is frozen over, great companies of young men go to sport upon the ice,' &c. After describing their modes of sliding, he continues: 'Some are better practised to the ice, and bind to their shoes bones, as the legs of some beasts (tibiae scilicet animalium), and hold stakes in their hands, headed with sharp iron, which sometimes they strike against the ice; and these men go on with speed, as doth a bird in the air, or darts shot from some warlike engine.'

"Strutt, in his 'Sports and Pastimes,' confesses his inability to trace the introduction of skating into this country; but of the correctness of his opinion, as to its originating in the necessities of more northern climates, there can be no question.

"In Bishop Percy'sⁱ 'Translation of Runic Poetry,' skating is alluded to as being one of the accomplishments of the North, of the highest character. Harold, in the poem called his 'Complaint,' says: 'I know how to perform eight exercises. I fight with courage, I keep a firm seat on horseback, I am skilled in swimming, I glide along the ice on scates, I excel in darting the lance, I am dexterous at the oar, and yet a Russian maid disdains me.'

"And again, in the same collection, to shew the exercises a Northern hero is proficient in:

"'I am master of nine accomplishments: I play well at chess, I know how to engrave Runic letters, I am apt at my book, and know how to handle the tools of the

ⁱ Five Pieces of Runic Poetry, translated from the Islandic Language.—London, 1763.

smith, I traverse the snow on scates of wood, I excel in shooting with the bow, and in managing the oar, I sing to the harp and compose verses.'

"In the 24th table of the Edda, skating is spoken of in words to the same effect:— 'Then the King asked, what that young man could do, who accompanied Thor. Thialfe answered, that in running upon scates he would dispute the prize with any of the countries. The king owned that the talent he spoke of was a very fine one,' &c.— Translation of M. Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire de Danemarck*, 2 vol. London, 1770.

"If there may arise any question among Runic scholars as to whether the passage above quoted, referring to traversing the snow on skates of wood, may not be more applicable to snow shoes or to sledges: the description of the skate by Olaus Magnus agrees perfectly with that of Fitz Stephen. He speaks of it as being of polished iron, or of the shank bone of a deer or sheep, about a foot long, filed down on one side, and greased with hog's lard to repel the wet.

"To the osteologist also this skate is interesting; and to explain its peculiarities, as an object worthy the attention of the naturalist, I feel I cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Alfred Smee, from a letter he has done me the favour to write on the subject: 'The bony tissue is hard, in excellent preservation, and is particularly transparent; the Haversian canals or blood vessels are small, and very distinctly seen in the compact tissue, which in this case is very dense in its structure. The appearance of the bone would warrant a confident assertion that it had lain in a boggy soil, and not in a light sandy or gravelly one. In general aspect it resembles those found in Lothbury, which left, upon calcination, 60 per cent. of ash, and exhibited all the animal matter (after being treated with muriatic acid) of the proper colour, consistence, and quantity. In all these specimens the intimate or microscopic structure was the same as in recent bone, each Haversian canal being surrounded with its system of corpuscles and corpuscular lines, and altogether, from a transparency given to the bony tissue from age, exhibiting the structure of true bone, in such a way as even to afford a treat to the practised eye of the anatomist. The bone before me is identical with those last described. The beauty of its structure would be a strong inducement to make a

^k Aliud vero genus, quod ferro plano et polito, sive planis ossibus, cervinis vel bovinis scilicet tibiis, naturalem lubricitatem ob innatum pinguedinem habentibus, pedali longitudine sub plantis affixis, in sola glacie lubrica cursum intendit velocissimum: quemque in glaciali æqualitate semper currendo continuat.—Cæteris bravium lucraturi currendo præveniunt, qui cervinas tibias latè limatas plantis affigunt, porcina axungia perunctas, quia gelidis aquæ guttis velut per poros glaciei in vehementi frigore surgentibus, tibiæ sic unctæ impediri aut constringi non possunt.—Hist. Olai Magni de Gent. Septentrion. Basileæ. fol.

section for the microscope, were not the mutilation of a specimen, so interesting to the Antiquary, unadvisable.

'The bone itself is the metatarsal bone of a quadruped, which, from its regular shape and perpendicular axis, is so well suited for the purpose for which you suppose it to have been applied. The animal to which it belonged appears to be of the genus equus, because it is grooved for two rudimentary metatarsal bones on its posterior surface, which at once point out that it could not belong to any ruminant, as the ox, deer, or sheep. Its size would induce the idea that it belonged to a horse, and the closeness of its bony structure would indicate a noble origin.

'The lower end of the bone is cut rudely away at the sides, so as to resemble the prow of a boat, and an ingenious advantage appears to be taken of a smooth ridge of bone which naturally exists at the centre of the interior articular surface, for that being left, it forms a finish to the whole, and appears to answer the same purpose as the turned up piece of steel in the modern skates.

'I may mention that, although the bone has been so long embedded in the earth, it would be now just as valuable to the glue boilers as if the animal to which it belonged had but recently died.'

"I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH."

"Liverpool Street, City, February 10, 1841."

Coffins of the Knights Templars in the Temple Church.

18th March 1841. Extract of a letter from L. N. COTTINGHAM, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, announcing the discovery in the Temple Church of the leaden Coffins of the Knights:

"For the information of the Society of Antiquaries, I beg to inform you of a most important discovery made this day at the Temple Church, namely, of the ancient lead coffins containing the bodies of the knights. They do not appear to have been buried in their armour. The coffins are in a very corroded state: some of them are six feet eight inches long, and others six feet ten inches. No part of the ornaments appear to be of earlier date than the beginning of the 13th century. The plaster casts herewith exhibited are specimens of the ornaments cast in the solid lead sheets, which were soldered together in the ancient coffin shapes. I hope in a few days to have the honour

of laying before the Society correct drawings of these most interesting specimens of ancient English plumbing."

Cromlech of Gaer Lwyd, Monmouthshire.

29th April, 1841. GEORGE ORMEROD, Esq. LL.D., F.S.A., laid before the Society two sketches of a Cromlech of large dimensions, not heretofore described, accompanied by the following observations, in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis :

"Its site is in Monmouthshire, adjacent to a new turnpike-road from Chepstow to Usk, immediately to the north of Earlswood, and near the summit of the line of hills which divides the watersheds to the Usk and the Severn, and commands prospects ranging to the extreme power of vision. The place itself is correctly laid down in the Ordnance Map, under its Gwentian appellation of GAER-LWYD, signifying either the *grey fortress*, or the *grey mound*.

"This locality is in the neighbourhood of numerous camps, and is about one mile south of the great British position of Gaer Vawr, which occupies a projecting ridge towards the vale of Usk, and is deemed to have been a chief strong-hold of the Silures.

"I learn that, in forming the new road, and inclosing the site of the cromlech, contiguous inequalities have been levelled, and large stones near it, as well as some of the supporting uprights, broken up. The tabular covering has, in consequence, assumed increased inclination. It measures twelve feet six inches in extreme length, six feet in breadth, and two feet six inches in thickness, and is of the old red sandstone of the district.

"Gaer Lwyd is noticed as a boundary in the old perambulations of Chepstow lordship, and also in those of the Duchy of Lancaster for Shire Newton as a dependency of the Ducal seignory of Caldecote."

Tessellated Pavements found in Threadneedle Street.

29th April, 1841. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A., communicated in two Letters to John Gage Rokewode, Esq. Director, the following notices of Roman Pavements discovered in Threadneedle Street.

"At the close of last month I had the pleasure of directing your attention to traces of extensive tessellated floorings among the ruins of the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street. I then observed to you that the patches of

the coarser red pavement which had been met with, here and there, throughout the area of the building, indicated a probability of our finding in the unexcavated part some portion better preserved and perhaps of a superior description, and you may remember I particularly pointed to an inclosure, lying immediately opposite and proximate to the entrance to the church from the street, on either side of which were to be observed, at the depth of twelve feet, irregular strata of red tessellated pavements running apparently under the street.

"I immediately applied to the proprietor of the premises, Mr. Edward Moxhay; who, with the best feeling, instantly granted me permission, not only to attend the excavations at all times, without let or hindrance, but also empowered me to make arrangements to secure the preservation of any remains that might be discovered.

"At the period of our visit, the area of the church was excavated to the depth of about fourteen feet, and appeared intersected with chalk walls, evidently the foundation-walls of some part of the Hospital of St. Anthony, which formerly occupied the site.¹

"On the 7th of the present month, a week after our joint inspection, at the expected spot, but not in a straight line with either of the coarse pavements, to the right and to the left, a portion of what appears to have been a Passage leading from one apartment to another was laid open, and fortunately without the displacement of a single tessera.

"The sketch taken from the ruins of the church on the east, shews the position of the pavement in relation to the surrounding walls. The interior one, it will be seen, was built into the pavement, and thus, partly at least, the cause of the imperfect condition in which we found it may be accounted for.

"It measures (inclusive of the portions remaining of the external border) about six feet by five, and consists of nine rows on each side of red tesserae an inch square, including borders of six rows of white tesserae and two of black, which inclose squares and lozenges, the latter arranged transversely and lengthways, the spandrels being the halves of lozenges similarly disposed.

"The square compartments are filled alternately with rosettes of eight and four leaves, frets and wheels or whorles; the lozenges with labyrinths.

"The colours are white, black, slate colour, a dull green formed from natural stones, and red and yellow from artificial; the green, which seems to be made from one of our native marbles, is much worn by time and the weather, the others are in every instance perfect.

"The patterns which embellish the pavement are all well known except the wheel or whorle; of this a variety having a fret in the centre is figured in Lysons's *Reliquiæ*

¹ See Stowe and Maitland.

Romanæ, which contains some of the best examples of tessellated pavements discovered in this country, most of which, if not all, have long since been destroyed.

"It was impossible to trace any part of the walls of the building to which this fragment originally belonged.

"The stratum of pavement, noticed to the extent of 7 or 8 feet on the left on entering the ruins, had evidently been considerably disturbed from its pristine bed; the regular portion, with its substructure remaining, was above two feet higher than the variegated part, which again was not on the same level with a piece composed of the inch-square tesserae, lying about 4 feet on the right; the former, inclined so abruptly towards the coloured pavement, as to present the appearance of having given way by the removal of some foundation, while the pavement we have succeeded in preserving, also dipped towards the street.

"It was not my impression that these fragments were ever on the same level, but that they formed portions of several rooms, connected by a passage, of which the coloured pavement formed a part.

"Fragments of a flooring of a room of the larger red tesserae, studded here and there with yellow ones, were met with in digging out other parts of the foundations; while to the north, about 10 feet distant, was found about 2 feet of another pavement, very similar, but in which the monotony of the red was relieved by an occasional insertion of a white tessera.

"From the broken frescos with which the ground was strewed, the walls of the building appear to have been painted in a superior style; the ground of some was a red with striped borders of green, blue, black, and yellow; others had flowers and leaves in red, yellow, white and green, on a black ground.

"When the destruction of the Roman building to which these shattered pavements belonged was accomplished, or under what circumstances, it is impossible to decide. On the western extremity of the disjointed red pavement was found a considerable quantity of charcoal, together with charred barley. In other parts of the foundations charcoal was repeatedly met with, a fact which seems to suggest fire as the agent of demolition.

"The coins found were of Claudius, Agrippa, Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and Constantine: but their evidence is not, in this point of view, conclusive; or, rather, do not bear on the question.

"The erection of the hospital of St. Anthony, and probably of edifices long anterior, will account for the confused state of the scanty remains met with; the foundation walls of the church have so effectually dissected the pavements, that it is rather suprising we should have been able to detect this isolated specimen, the beauty of which causes regret that so little is left us.

"In a topographical point of view these remains are important. Running under Threadneedle Street, they will exclude its site or line from any claim to be considered among the streets of the Roman city.

"I cannot conclude these notes without again adverting to the liberal and enlightened spirit evinced by Mr. Moxhay, who, at considerable inconvenience, preserved this elegant relic of ancient art, and has deposited it in the national collection.^m An example of individual generosity which I know will be welcomed by our Society, and trust will be followed by other individuals, and contribute to generate a more general disposition to appreciate and preserve these valuable monuments of antiquity."

(17th June, 1841.) "In addition to the communication I lately made to the Society, relative to the Roman pavement and other remains found on the site of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, I am now enabled to furnish a drawing of another portion of the flooring of the House or Villa, which has since been brought to light during the progress of the excavations.

"This was found on the north side of the former, at the distance of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and close to the present street, below the level of which it is situate 13 feet; that is to say, the higher portion, for nearly one half, had at some former period given way, and was when uncovered, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot lower than the other. This dislodgement appears to have been effected during the excavations for the constructional walls forming the foundations of the Church, which I mentioned in my former letter, and one of which has occupied part of the site of this second pavement, as another occupied part of that first discovered.

"The extreme length of this pavement is $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet; how far the outer border extended originally it is impossible to say; but enough has been preserved to enable us to make a restoration of the principal patterns and figure.

"The external border, (which, though now only four feet in width, was probably of dimensions somewhat more extended,) is composed of variegated tesserae (cubes of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch), of red, white, slate colour, black, and pale yellow or straw colour. Of these the red greatly predominates. The others are not arranged systematically, but appear to have been left to the caprice of the workman who may have been instructed to produce a certain effect, which he has accomplished, and which, when we reflect that this pavement may have been only part of a larger apartment, is by no means void of appropriate beauty to relieve the more complex and richer figures. This border incloses

^m A small model was presented by Mr. Moxhay to the Society.

a smaller one of white tesserae, half a foot wide, which towards the centre is bounded by a kind of embattled fret in yellow and red; within this is a smaller white border of four rows of tesserae, and one of two rows of gray or blueish tesserae, composed of Petworth marble. These surround the centre figure, which is of an elaborate and beautiful kind. It may be described as a flower or rosette of eight leaves, from behind which the points of eight others are visible. Each of the eight upper leaves has in its centre a trefoil, and these are connected by a band of two rows of red tesserae. It will be perceived that the artist has given a representation of three surfaces, and though it may be difficult to say whether any particular flower was intended to be portrayed, yet the effect of the combination of the colours and the form of the figure, is striking and pleasing, and affords us another instance of the wonderful perfection to which this species of work was carried.

"Mr. Moxhay has, as heretofore, taken every pains to secure the pavement from further damage, and has favoured me with a coloured model (executed by Mr. R. Day,) to present to the Society.

"I hope that the excavations now carrying on by this liberal proprietor of the ground may, ere long, furnish us with still further materials for investigation."

Roman Foundations in Bush Lane and Scots Yard, London.

6th May, 1841. WILLIAM ADDISON COMBE, Esq. in a Letter to Sir H. Ellis, described some Roman foundations discovered, during the construction of a sewer, in Bush Lane and Scots Yard, Cannon Street.

"At the lower end of Bush Lane, abutting on Thames Street, a wall was discovered built with layers of Kentish rag-stone and tiles, progressing upwards on the right hand side, in an angular direction, fifty feet, finished by another similar in thickness and height, traversing to the westward, or across the lane, through which the workmen had to break. At this spot were found fragments of pottery, tiles, bricks, and portions of frescos, at a depth of fifteen feet. On excavating but twenty feet further, another foundation of similar materials impeded their progress. A short distance beyond, and parallel with Chequer Yard, the progress of the workmen was delayed by another wall, still traversing in the same direction, or across the lane, but this was of much greater strength than the former, and built with layers of Kentish rag and tiles: the size of the latter was in length two feet and one in breadth, the thickness of the wall four feet. On the upper side considerable remains of what had once been a tessellated pavement were found, but completely broken up, I conclude by the action of water,

as an extensive spring is open within a few feet of the spot. Here were considerable fragments of fresco, extending to the depth of two feet, apparently the remains of two opposite walls, which had either given way or been thrown down one on the other. On proceeding a similar distance as before, a fourth wall, and a fifth were met with, the former four feet in thickness, and the latter four feet six inches, built of broken tiles imbedded together in masses: these two were at equal distances of thirty-five feet from each other. The next discovery was a wall of amazing strength and solidity, eighteen feet in thickness, and standing within four feet of the surface: this was noticed by Mr. C. R. Smith in a late paper, and needs no further comment. Above this were the remains of a Roman building, some of the hypocaust flues of which are in my possession, and fragments of a white tessellated pavement: a small portion of the wall was standing, built of tiles one foot square; the only remain of pottery discovered was a small black shallow patera.

Silver Seal of Thomas de Prayers.

June 10th, 1841. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society a very handsome silver matrix of a Private Seal, or rather seals, which has long descended in the family of Earl Ferrers, and which is now in the possession of Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. of Easington Park.

Its construction is very singular. In its entire state it gives the impression of a shield of arms surrounded by a legend. By means of an internal screw, worked by the loop of the handle, the centre may be projected, and an impression taken independent of the legend. Again, the centre may be screwed off, when a smaller seal or secretum appears, inclosed within the first. On the exterior of the two former portions a small star is engraved, answering to the star at the commencement of the legend, and serving to show at once the points where the parts fit and the screws terminate, and also pointing out which is the upper part of the circle when an impression is taken. The Inscription on the legend is,

* SIGILLVM THOME DE PRAYERS.

The shield of arms is a bend cotticed between six martlets. The bend is cross-hatched, in the way engravers now represent the tincture Sable. The blazon of this coat does not occur in the usual ordinaries of arms, nor in the three Rolls edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, nor in the two in the third volume of the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*.

On the secretum is another shield, which, to describe it heraldically, has a fretty field, charged with a bendlet ragulee. Whether this was a gentilitia coat may be doubted. The motto, which is in English, is remarkable, but its meaning obscure,

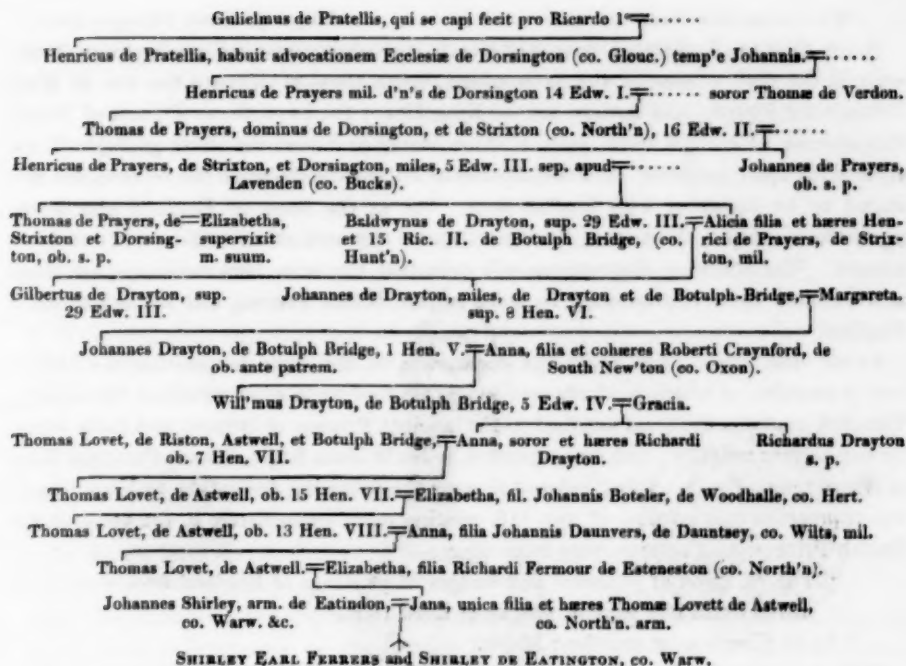
3AT I NE WERE

This curious Seal is presumed to be of the age of one of the three first Edwards.



This family of Prayers were of Dorsington in Gloucestershire. Their heiress married a Drayton; an heiress of Drayton was married to a Lovett; and the heiress of Lovett was married in the reign of Elizabeth to Sir John Shirley, of Easington in Warwickshire. Thus the possession of the Seal in the lineal descendants of its first owner is traced to the present time. The estate which accompanied it was sold by Sir Thomas Shirley in the reign of Charles the Second.

The following tabular descent of the family is extracted from the great Shirley pedigree, drawn up by Sir Richard St. George in 1632, and now in the possession of Washington Earl Ferrers.



Hook Money, from Ceylon.

18th Nov. 1841. WILLIAM JERDAN, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited to the Society a specimen of money from Ceylon, in the form of a double hook. Its name in the language of the Kandians is *Andoo*, which means a hook. It is of silver, weighing about ten pence of our current coin, though its value in Kandy, where it is stated to have been in use for more than three centuries, is only four pence.

On the Coats of Arms appropriated to the Welsh Princes.

18th Nov. 1841. The following letter was read from THOS. WM. KING, Esq., F.S.A., Rouge Dragon, addressed to Sir Samuel Meyrick, K.H., F.S.A.

VOL. XXIX.

3 G

MY DEAR SIR SAMUEL,

College of Arms, 14 Sept. 1841.

Some time ago I directed your attention to the engravings and descriptions of two seals in the 20th volume of the *Archæologia*, being those of Edward the son of King Edward the Fourth, and Arthur son of King Henry the Seventh, as Princes of Wales. The obverse of each of these seals is there stated to "bear the *Arms of England*, the three lions upon a shield;" and the caparisons on the horses upon the reverse, are also stated to be *powdered with English lions*; but as the lions of England were never *reguardant*, as upon these seals, the circumstance appeared to me to be worthy of some remark. The following observations will shew that the arms here mentioned are those said to have been appropriated to some of the Welsh Princes, and are not those of England.

In the first place, I will recite the occurrence of the arms in question in a MS. in your possession, of which you have very kindly allowed me to avail myself in this inquiry. This MS. contains the arms ascribed to the ancient Princes of Britain, and those borne by our ancient nobility; and was compiled by Sir William Segar, Garter Principal King of Arms, temp. Jac. I. I feel induced to copy the following dedication to King James, which precedes that portion of the MS. relating more immediately to the arms of the British Princes, as it appears very interesting:—

"The variation of y^e armes and badges of y^e Kings of England from y^e time of Brute untill this present year of o^r Lord 1604."

"To y^e King's most excellent Maj^{tie}."

"Most gracious Lord and my dread So^vaigne, It pleased yo^r Ma^{tie} att thatt time when I was presented (by the lords)ⁿ unto your princely view, to demand of me some questions toucheing y^e coate armour of Engl^d, wherein I was then invested,^o in which discourse I conceiv'd y^t yo^r Maj^{ties} opinion was y^t England had no certaine armes belonging unto it, but such as was derived from others. True it is y^t no nation in y^e world hath more chang'd their armes than Engl^d hath done, by reason of y^e sundry invasions and conquests y^t have been made at divers times by Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans. Yett since Henry y^e 2nd's time (who left y^e Norman leopards and took y^e English lions), y^e arms of Engl^d have remained constant, quarter'd after by Edw. 3rd with y^e armes of France in right of claime. I have endeavoured myself to shew y^e variations wch, partly by approved authours, and partly by

ⁿ The Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Earl Marshal of England.

^o Sir William Segar was appointed Garter in January 1603-4; but did not obtain a Patent of the office of Garter till 16 January, 4 Jac. 1606-7. He here refers to his investiture with the Badge of Garter, which has the Sovereign's arms enamelled upon it. He was knighted 9 Nov. 1616, and died 13 Dec. 1633.

tradition, hath been delivered unto us all, which with all humility prostrating at yo^r Ma^{ties} feet, I humbly crave yo^r Ma^{ties} most gracious acceptance.

"Yo^r Ma^{ties} most humble and faithful servant,

"W. SEGAR, Garter and Princip^l King of Arms."

To resume, however, the subject of this inquiry, after this digression, I now submit the following entry in the MS. which is accompanied by a painting of the arms hereafter blazoned.

"Brute gave also to Camber his third sonn Cambria with this armes—tres Leones gradientes, facies suas ad terga vertentes, in campo argenteo; in French, Il portoit d'argent trois Lions passants regardants de gules; y^e which armes y^e Kings and Princes of Wales and their offspring used for a long time after untill y^e country was divided into 3 distinct Prin[cipalities, viz.] North Wales, South Wales, and Powessland, and then they took [severall] armes."^p

In a book marked L 14, in the College of Arms, is a MS. of the same period, being a collection of the arms of the ancient Princes; apparently a copy from your MS. in which the above notice also occurs, with the arms depicted in a similar style. See the annexed sketch.

In several MSS. in the College of Arms the armorial insignia upon the seals in question are ascribed as being appropriate to the Welsh Princes, and set forth, temp. Hen. VIII. and Elizabeth, as appertaining to Rodric Mawr Prince of all Wales, who was slain by the men of Brecknock, or the Saxons, A^o 877; and who was the common ancestor of Edward, afterwards Edward the Fifth, and Arthur, Princes of Wales; and are likewise ascribed to Tudor the Great, who was slain in the year 992, the ancestor of Prince Arthur. The drawings of the lions in the pedigrees of these ancient Welsh Princes, in the MSS. in this college, are identical with the bearings upon the seals, and with those in the MS. in your library, being *passant regardant, and having their tails between their legs*, as in the accompanying drawing.

Passing by the story of Brute assigning the arms in question to his son Camber, and being aware that armorial ensigns do not bear so high an antiquity as the period to which the MSS. I have quoted refer, nor are even of so remote an origin as the ninth century, I shall dismiss at once any attempt to ascribe such heraldic devices to individuals contemporary with Rodric Mawr. We find, however, arms in MSS. of an earlier period than those I have cited, attributed to persons celebrated for their valour, or illustrious birth; and hence we may conclude that the arms in question had, in the times of Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh, been understood to appertain to certain Welsh

^p The words here inclosed in brackets are supplied from the account given in L 14, Coll. Arm. the Goodrich Court MS. having been injured.

heroes of renown, as, in common, different armorial insignia were to the Saxons and other princes prior to the conquest. Indeed, in a MS. marked 2 G 4 in this college, a shield of arms is set forth for Queen Elizabeth, containing those of the Saxon princes, over which, on an escocheon of pretence, are the arms of Rodric Mawr, (Argent, three lions passant guardant, with their tails passing between their legs, gules), quarterly with those of North Wales, (Quarterly gules and or, four lions passant guardant counter-changed.)^a

Establishing the position, therefore, that the arms upon the seals in the Archæologia are those which have been ascribed to certain Welsh Princes from whom Edward and Arthur descended, we arrive at the conclusion that they adopted this coat upon their seals, as Princes of Wales, to show their Welsh descent; and we are borne out in this view of the case by Edward introducing the Lion of March to support the feathers on his seal, and Arthur adopting the dragon of Cadwaladyr for a similar purpose; King Henry the Seventh having taken the red dragon as a supporter to the royal arms in commemoration of his Cambrian origin.

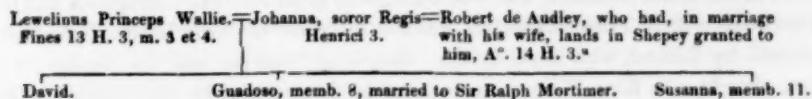
Upon reference to the swords of state of Edward, Prince of Wales, son of King Edward the Fourth, described in the fifth volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, we find the shield of his arms, as eldest son of the King, differenced by a label; the coat of *Rodric Mawr*; the coat of Mortimer; and others.

I will now briefly notice the genealogy of these princes, whose armorial insignia form the subject of this communication. King Edward the Fourth was the great-grandson of Roger, Earl of March, who had been declared heir presumptive to the crown in the time of Richard the Second, and who died 22 Ric. II. He was sixth in descent from Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, who was the son of Ralph Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, by Gwladus, his wife, the daughter and heir of Llewelyn ab Ierworth, Prince of North Wales. Llewelyn was lineally descended from Rodric Mawr, and began his reign in 1194, and died in 1241; and as King Henry the Seventh was also lineally descended from Rodric, that prince was the common ancestor of Edward and Arthur, Princes of Wales, who, upon their seals, respectively adopted the three lions passant guardant.

It may not be irrelevant to this subject, nor, indeed, uninteresting, before I conclude, to advert to some discrepancies which have arisen relative to the marriages and issue of Llewelyn ab Ierworth Drwyndwn. It appears, upon the authority of Vincent,

^a These arms appear to have been borne by Yerweth Drwyndwn, (i. e. Broken-nose), the father of Llewelyn. This fact is thus expressed in a very curious and interesting MS. of the time of Hen. III. entitled, "*Historia de Foulkes Fitzwarin*," hereafter quoted—"A taunt vynt Yerward armeé, dont les armes furent de or e de goules quartylé, e en chescun quarter un leopart."

and from several MSS. in the College of Arms, that Llewelyn married Joan, the natural daughter of King John. ['A° 1206 Lewelinus desponsavit filiam regis Johis;']^r and that she died in 1236.—['A° 1236 obiit dñā Johanna Dñā Walliæ uxor Lewelini, filia Johis et Clementiæ, 3 Kal: April:']^s Vincent also gives the following pedigree.^t



Sandford, Milles, and other writers have also given a similar account.

But in a book recently printed, a copy of which I consulted in your library, entitled '*Histoire de Foulques Fitz-Warin, publiée d'après un Manuscrit du Musée Britannique (MS. Reg. XII. C. 12.)*'^x par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1840," the following passages occur: 'Le Roy Henré dona à Lewys le fitz Yervard, enfant de vii. anz, Jonette, sa fyle; e en mariage lur dona Ellesmere e autres terres plusours.' p. 33. King Henry gave to Llewelyn, son of Yerwerth, a child of seven years, Jonette his daughter, and as a marriage portion gave her Ellesmere (in Shropshire) and many other lands. 'Fouke e ces compaignons s'en alerent de ylege vers Rothelan de parler ou sire Lewys, le prince q'aveit esposee Johane, la fyle le roy Henré, suere le roy Johan; quar le prince e sire Fouke e ces freres furent norys ensemble en la court le roy Henré,' p. 52. Fouke and his companions went thence^y to Rhuddlan to speak to Sir Lewys, the prince who had espoused Johane, the daughter of King Henry, and sister of King John; for the prince and Sir Foulke and his brothers were brought up together in the court of King Henry. 'Quant dame Johane, la femme Lowis le prince de Walys, que fust la file le roi Henré Engleterre, fust devyée, pur le grant renoun de prowess e de bounté que Sire Fouke aveit, yl maunda à ly pur Eve sa file; e il la graunta, e à grant honour e solempneté furent esposée. Mès Lowis ne vesqui que un an e demi après: morust, e fust ensevely à Aberconewey, saunz heir engendré de Eve. E pus fust-ele esposé à ly sire de Blanc-Mostiers, que fust chevalier de grant aprise, coragous e hardy.' p. 96. When the lady Joan, the wife of Louis Prince of Wales, who was the daughter of Henry King of Eng-

^r MSS. Notes by Vincent to the Article "*Base Children of King John*," in Brooke's Catalogue and Succession of Kings, &c. (Vincent No. 215, Coll. Arm.)

^s Ibid.

^t Ibid.

^u This date, however, appears to be irreconcilable with the preceding quotations, and with the facts hereinafter adverted to.

^x This MS. as has been observed in note q, appears to be of the time of Henry III.

^y The castle of "Saloburs," in the marches of Wales, i. e. Shrewsbury, is here referred to.

land, was dead, on account of the renown for prowess and goodness that Sir Fouke had, he made to him a request for Eva his daughter, which being granted, they were married with great honour and solemnity: but Lowis lived only a year and a half after; he died and was buried at Aberconway,^z without heir from the body of Eva; and then she was married to Sir Blanc Mostiers, who was a knight of great renown, courageous and bold.

That Joan, wife of Prince Llewelyn, was the daughter of King Henry, is further corroborated by Leland, who says, in the '*Gestes of Guarine and his Sunnes*;' ^a 'that Johan, daughter to King Henry, was married to Lewys, heir to Drowedones (Drwyn-dwn); and that 'after that Johan, the sister of King John, was dead, Lewys Prince of Wales married Eva, daughter to Fulco the Secund, at Blanchville.^b Lewys lyved a yere and a half after he married Eva, and then dying, without issue of her, was buried at Aberconwey.'

Dugdale, in his *Baronage* (Vol. i. pp. 444, 445), also recites Leland, relative to these marriages of Prince Llewelyn; and in a MS. collection of pedigrees, written about the end of the 16th century, and preserved amongst Vincent's collections in this college (No. 10.), he is stated to have married, first '*Johanna soror Johannis Regis*;' and, secondly, to Eva, daughter of '*Fulco dñs et baro Fitzwarren*.'

Notwithstanding, however, that some authorities have stated Prince Llewelyn to have married the daughter of King John, and that others have given her as his sister, all appear to have agreed that Ralph Lord Mortimer married Gwladus, the daughter of Llewelyn; and that from that match the Earls of March descended. But it has also been stated that Gwladus was a daughter of Llewelyn by Margaret, daughter of Madog ab Meredydd, another wife. This, however, does not appear to be confirmed; for we have seen, from the *Histoire de Foulques Fitz-Warin*, and from Leland, that King Henry gave Prince Llewelyn, when that prince was only seven years old, his daughter Jonette, or Joan; and that when she died he married Eva, daughter of Fouke Fitzwarin, who survived him, and by whom he had no issue, and who re-married to Sir Blanc Mostiers. Therefore it appears more satisfactory to conclude that Gwladus was the daughter of Prince Llewelyn by Joan; and whether he had any other wife, which the facts just recited would make to be impossible, it is not worth while here to inquire.

Having, I trust, satisfactorily accounted for the arms of Prince Edward and Prince Arthur, as they are upon their respective seals, given in the *Archæologia*; and having called your attention to the curious facts relative to the genealogy of those princes, it only remains for me to apologise for this intrusion upon your valuable time—to assure

^z The spot where Conway Castle now stands, and where there had been a monastery.

^a This is printed at the end of the *Histoire de Foulkes Fitzwarin*, from his *Collectanea*.

^b Now called Whittington.

you how sensible I am of the facilities you have kindly afforded me in this enquiry—and to subscribe myself, &c.

THOS. WM. KING, Rouge Dragon.

P.S. I have since seen among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum Sir William Segar's Book (No. 6085) of the 'Variation of y^e armes and badges of y^e Kings of England,' of which your MS. appears to have been the draft, beautifully emblazoned on vellum; and containing the dedication to King James, and the notice of the arms, which are contained in this communication.



The above arms are ascribed to the Kings and Princes of Wales, prior to the division of that country into three principalities; and are depicted in the MS. at Goodrich Court, of the time of James the First; and also in the MS. of the same period in L. 14. Coll. Arm.^c and appear on the seals of Prince Edward, son of King Edward the Fourth, and Prince Arthur, son of King Henry the Seventh, as Princes of Wales, given in the 20th volume of the Archæologia. The shields below are also depicted in L. 14. Coll. Arm. immediately succeeding the entry referred to in the accompanying letter.

NORTH WALES.



SOUTH WALES.



POWIS LAND.



^c Vide also *Harl. MS. No. 6085.*

Account of various Roman Remains discovered in a field called the Slade, in the Parish of Boughton Monchelsea, in Kent.

2d Dec. 1841. Charles Roach Smith, Esq. communicated the following particulars which had been addressed to him in a letter from CLEMENT TAYLOR SMYTHE, Esq.

"In a field called the Slade, on the manor farm of Brushing, or Brishing, in the parish of Boughton Monchelsea in Kent, belonging to Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq. of Leeds Castle, there has been recently discovered the remains of a Roman building.

"The Slade (Slæd, Anglo-Saxon, a valley), as its name denotes, lies in a narrow valley, through which runs a small stream of water. The Slade contains about 5 acres, and lies on the south side of the stream. It was formerly pasture land, but about ten years ago the tenant, Mr. William Skinner, commenced planting hops upon it, and has continued every season since to grub up the earth for that purpose, and to quarry for rag stone. The greater part of the Slade is now planted with hops, a portion of the west end only being used as a quarry, with a kiln on it for burning stone into lime.

"About seven years ago Joseph Thorneycraft (the man who has been employed during the whole period of the breaking up the meadow), found near the east end of the Slade a human skeleton, and near to it two sepulchral urns and a small flat dish; the latter came into my possession, which induced me to inspect the site, when I learned from him that he had met with several places in the field covered with large quantities of burnt wood and charcoal, and also with a profusion of broken urns, pateræ, and other undoubted Roman remains. I directed him to collect and preserve for me such as from my description he should find worth preserving; and he has continued, from time to time during the last six years to bring to me large quantities of fragments of urns and other vessels of Samian ware, and of burnt and unburnt clay, &c., bronze fibulæ, and a few coins of the Constantine family, and a small British coin. Among the pottery were two or three pieces of embossed Samian ware, a small crucible, the lip of a very large vessel of terra cotta, or stone coloured ware, and the fragment of a female figure in terra cotta, the head and feet broken off. There were also small pieces of glass and the handle of a large glass bottle, &c.

"On the 5th August, 1841, Thorneycraft sent a messenger early in the morning to inform me that the foundation of a building had been discovered, and I immediately hastened over to the Slade and found a portion of the room marked C on the plan, and one of the semicircular projections of the hypocaust marked B disclosed.

"The portions of the foundation discovered were from three to three and a-half feet and at some places four feet below the surface of the earth, and the walls about three feet in height. Upon examination of the soil it appeared that the building had been ruined by violence; the floors were destroyed, and many massive pieces of the cement of which they were formed, broken and dispersed about the site: above this, and nearly on a level

with the upper parts of the walls was a general stratum of charcoal and burnt wood, from one to three inches in thickness, in which were found nails, pieces of fused metal, &c.; so that, after the interior of the lower part of the building had been partially destroyed, the upper part was probably set fire to, and the destruction completed.

"The soil above the top of the walls was from three to four feet in depth, of a rich black mould, and which, in the opinion of those persons employed in digging and well acquainted with these matters, was a deposit from the upper parts of the valley and banks, washed there by the stream during the many ages in which it probably soaked through and over the whole of the narrow surface of the valley; mixed with the soil at places were to be found small portions of drift sand, confirmatory of this opinion.

"On the 5th and 6th August the workmen proceeded with the excavation and a great part of the hypocaust was exposed. On the 7th Aug. Thomas Charles, Esq. of Chillington House, Maidstone, a gentleman who has devoted many years to the study of antiquities and particularly to the Roman remains in this neighbourhood, accompanied me to the Slade, and made the drawings No. 1 and 2; but, as the two semicircular projections of the hypocaust were destroyed as soon as possible after the earth had been cleared away from them, and the other portions of the building removed from time to time, he was unable to make further drawings, and no complete view of the remains could be obtained. The drawing No. 1, presents a view of the outer walls of room C. and the circular projection first discovered, taken on a level with the foundation. No. 2, a view of both the circular projections and room C. taken from the bank above. Before Mr. Charles could make the second drawing a portion of the wall of the south circular projection was cleared away, so that it is not so prominent as the other, and he was much inconvenienced by the workmen who continued to throw the earth upon the walls.

"The plan was made by Mr. John Jackson Bird, who resides near the spot; the measurements have been most carefully taken, as the ruins have been cleared from the earth, and compared by the workmen and myself. Mr. Skinner having given directions to his men to inform Mr. Bird and me of any fresh discoveries being made as the work proceeded, I believe no part of the remains have escaped our observation.

"The following is a description of the building and of the Roman remains which have been found. Upon the plan (Plate XLIV.) the different parts of the building will be referred to by corresponding letters and numbers.

"The walls were uniformly two feet in thickness, the quoins in some places of greater thickness. The whole of the external walls were of Kentish rag-stone, rudely hammered, and cemented without any mixture of tiles, and in unequal layers, but generally four layers to about three feet in height. The quoins were mostly of Roman tiles and cement. The stone was dug on the spot, a portion of the building being cut out of the solid rock on the south side of the valley to the depth of five feet.

"A. This room, which measures twelve feet six inches by ten feet, was the furnace room, and was cut out of the rock, which it abutted to on the south, east, and west, but had walls within side of the same construction as the other walls, on the south and east about five feet in height from the floor of the room; on the west the wall was broken, a portion being about five feet, and the rest between three and four feet in height, and abutted to the shelving rock. The furnace was between the two walls marked No. 1, and communicated with the hypocaust B by an arch of Roman tiles which was broken, but measured from three feet six inches to four feet from the floor to the centre of the arch. The walls No. 1, on each side of the furnace, were constructed of stone and loam instead of cement, as lime kilns and other buildings exposed to the action of fire are still built, and presented marks of intense heat. On the side of the furnace marked No. 2, a large quantity of unconsumed charcoal was found, and on the other side, No. 3, were the ashes and refuse of charcoal, among which were portions of broken pottery and several nails. These places were probably the receptacles for the fuel before and after it had been used.

"B. The hypocaust; this room was twenty-five feet long, and between the walls, at the north and south ends, thirteen wide; the interior of the northern semicircular projection was of six feet diameter, and the other of seven feet three inches span; all the quoins were of Roman tiles and cement; the bottom and sides of this room were cemented; the bottom was formed of rough Kentish rag-stone grouted in, and over it a thick body of cement with a perfectly smooth surface. The centre of the floor was flat, but inclining from the sides of the walls and semicircles for a distance of about twelve inches. On this floor were placed, in regular rows, small piers of from twelve to eighteen inches in height, composed of tiles of nine inches square and one inch thick; some of them were in the semicircular portions of the room, and upon these on a level with the walls which were then remaining, I suppose was placed a floor of cement (many portions of which were found) composed of lime and small pieces of broken tile at the base, but the upper part of a finer material, the tile being pounded into smaller pieces, producing a colour nearly resembling rose pink and possessing a very smooth surface. At the north-west corner was a flue running through the wall in a diagonal direction, into room C. (marked 4.) it was formed of semicircular tiles placed one on another, of eight inches diameter at the larger end, diminishing to six inches; the tiles were twenty inches long, and the flue was constructed of four of them, the smaller end of the two first being inserted in the larger end of the second pair; the whole embedded in, and surrounded with, an immense body of cement and tiles. Between the wall at the south-east end of the hypocaust, and the small quoin No. 5, was a recess measuring three feet six inches by two feet; in this recess was found a very thick piece of cement which had been broken in two; this was about two thirds of the

original size; the other portion had been previously found a few feet from it, and when whole it would have exactly fitted into the recess; it was twelve inches in thickness and composed of a coarse material of broken tile and cement at the base, and the finer pink cement on the upper part of the surface smooth, and had probably been polished. It presented the form of a dish or modern sink, and had been placed on a pier of large tiles, within three or four feet of the opening of the furnace into the hypocaust. The whole area of this room appeared to have formed between the lower and the upper floors a very considerable space or vault for the reception of the hot air from the furnace.

"C. In this room, which was eleven feet by ten and with which the flue from the hypocaust B. communicated, were similar piers of square tiles, for supporting the upper floor, as those described in B. but the under floor was not formed with much care, and I presume it was more for the purpose of carrying off the hot air than for any other use. In the exterior walls of this room were inserted ventilating tiles, No. 6; they were six inches square and ten inches high, and formed of one piece; the outer side was marked very regularly with a lozenge-shaped pattern. From this room a doorway two feet six inches wide communicated with the next room. D. Here the floor was remaining, being nearly on a level with the top of the wall, and formed of roughly hammered Kentish rag-stone slabs of irregular shapes; the stone next the doorway into C. was much worn at the edge. This room was eleven feet by ten feet six inches, exclusive of the basin described below; at No. 7, was another doorway of like dimensions, and Nos. 8 were two quoins each eighteen inches square, between which, extending across the whole width of the room, was a pavement of one line of tiles, one tile placed in another and cemented together, the lower tile having both edges turned up to receive the upper tile; the upper parts of the tiles were also covered with cement with a smooth surface, and joined to a ridge of cement of about two inches above the floor, on the other side of which was a slight projection (four inches wide and extending the whole distance between the quoins No. 8, and bevelled at the top and ends,) into what appeared to have been a receptacle or basin for water, E. It was semicircular at one end of ten feet in diameter, and six feet three inches from the square end to the centre of the semicircle; the bottom and sides were of cement, and perfect; a moulding was carried round the whole at the junction of the sides with the bottom, to prevent any deposit; the depth from the ridge next room D. to the bottom of the basin was only eighteen inches; the sides were cemented to the height of the walls now remaining, nearly three feet from the bottom of the basin, and were of red fresco. Between the circular end of the basin and the outside of the wall is a drain for water formed of similar tiles as the flue before described. I do not venture to offer any

conjecture as to the use or purpose this was designed for. It appears to have been too shallow for a bath.

"The excavation has not been continued beyond the places marked FF. in the plan, but there are indications of a continuation of the building in that direction. Pieces of stuccoed walls have been found close to the doorway No. 7, the quoins of which are of tile, and no other part of the building has any tiles in the outer walls; these, and other reasons not necessary to explain, have induced me to come to this conclusion. It is uncertain when, if at all, this part may be excavated; I have therefore ventured to send you a description of the discovery as far as it has been made.

"The whole of these ruins except part of the basin has been destroyed and carried away, which is much to be regretted, as we have no similar remains in this neighbourhood, and probably none of such magnitude in this part of the kingdom, its extent from north to south being about sixty feet, and from east to west about thirty feet, and the walls of the whole of the site generally of three feet in height, and in some parts reaching to five feet.

"Within the ruins were found many portions of the stuccoed walls of red, brown, black, pink, and white, with stripes of other colours on them; part of a semicircular pilaster of plaster, and many pieces of cement floors, but not the slightest vestige of tesserae. Broken vessels, urns, &c. were found in great numbers at all parts but none perfect, they were of burnt and unburnt clay, red, black, blue, and white or cream colour; a small quantity of fragments of Samian ware, about ten pieces of which are embossed, on one a female head, another a Bacchanal, and on others animals and borders of the egg and anchor pattern, &c.; in two pieces of the Samian ware, one embossed, the other plain, are holes for rivets. Many fibulae of bronze, a pin of bronze, a glass bead of bright green colour, nails, and other pieces of iron much corroded, a large pebble stone partly polished, several boar's tusks, two horns of a young bull, and the bones of sheep and other animals, have also been found here. Several pieces of window glass, nearly of the colour of our common glass, but slightly inclining to green, occurred; some of these were found nearly as low as the bottom of the foundation, more than four feet and a half below the surface on the outside of the room marked C. and near some of the embossed Samian ware, and others within the ruins. The glass appears to have been cast, not blown, and some of it is ground on one side; two or three of the pieces appeared to have been covered with a red paint on one side, but the colour does not enter into the substance of the glass.

"The coins found in or near the ruins were:

"Claudius: 2nd brass, two, badly preserved, of rude workmanship of the Pallas type.

Nero: 2nd brass, one specimen, much defaced.

Antoninus Pius: 1 brass, Obverse, ANTONINVS · AVG · laureated head to right.

Reverse, TR · POT · COS · SC · a figure standing, in his right hand a spear.

2 brass, one specimen, much defaced.

Commodus: 1 brass, one coin worn and illegible.

Severus: a denarius, Obverse, IMP · SEV · PERT · AVG · laureated head to right.

Reverse, LIBERAL · AVG · COS ·

Gallienus: 3 brass, 1 One specimen, with the reverse of a centaur.

2 Much defaced.

Constantine: 3 brass, 1 Obverse, IMP · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG · laureated head and bust in armour.

Reverse, SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI · in the field TF · in the exergue FTR · the sun standing with his right hand elevated and holding in his left a globe.

2 Idem, smaller module. Obverse, as above with HTR in exergue.

3, 4 GLORIA EXERCITVS; in exergue S · CON · two soldiers with standards.

Urbs Roma: five specimens.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS: two specimens.

Constantine Junior: 1 Obverse, CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB · C · head to the right laureated.

Reverse, GLORIA · EXERCITVS · in exergue TR · P · two soldiers standing with two standards.

Valens: 1 Reverse, SECVRITAS · REIPVBLICAE.

British or Gaulish: Silver, one specimen.

Brass, five.

"In the field adjoining to the Slade, there has, within the last month, been observed by the workmen some places strewed with charcoal, with other marks of funeral piles, such as broken urns, &c. Indeed, the whole neighbourhood abounds with indications of a considerable population in the time of the Romans, and next summer I hope to be able to add to our information on the subject.

"The Slade at the west end adjoins a road which has many appearances of a Roman origin, and may be traced in a straight line from Stone Street, in Maidstone, into a road near Coxheath (about half a mile from this spot), which I conjecture was a Roman way through the centre of Kent to the Portus Lemanis; it may still be traced at many places

on the line, but I refrain from saying more on this subject, hoping to be able at some future time to give a more distinct account of the Roman roads in Kent.

Ancient Paintings in the interior of Islip Church, Oxon.

2nd Dec. 1841. JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. exhibited Drawings made by John Arthur Cahusac, Esq. from two paintings which were discovered a few years ago on the south side of the interior of Islip Church, near Oxford. These paintings had been long concealed by whitewash, probably from the time of the Commonwealth, and their restoration has unfortunately been but imperfectly effected. Mr. Halliwell inclined to assign them to the middle of the 15th century.

The subject of the largest and most conspicuous of these paintings was the Offering of the three Kings, one of whom is in the act of presenting his gift to our Saviour, holding his crown in his left hand. On the right of the Holy Virgin is an aged man, probably intended for Joseph, although from the style of the chair in which he is seated he might be referred to a Roman ecclesiastic of a later period. Over the head of the Saviour is an angel descending with a vessel of incense, and above the figures is a kind of roof, forming probably part of the stable in which our Redeemer was born.

The second subject is St. Michael weighing a human soul, which is represented as a small naked figure in one scale of a balance, whilst the other scale is attacked by a figure in scaly armour, representing an evil spirit, endeavouring to weigh it down.

Both pictures are painted in distemper, are very carefully drawn, and considering the manner in which they have been defaced, the colouring is still brilliant.

Roman Remains found at Sutton Valence in Kent.

23d Dec. 1841. Charles Roach Smith, Esq. communicated the following account of Roman remains discovered a few years ago at Sutton Valence, which he had received from CLEMENT TAYLOR SMYTHE, Esq.

"In the year 1827 the foundations of a building and a large quantity of Roman urns and other remains were found at Sutton Valence in Kent. The following particulars were communicated to me at the time by a man of the name of Catt, who was employed as a labourer on the spot, and took up and preserved many of the urns, &c. which I purchased of him. I afterwards visited the place with him, but not until the whole of the foundations had been removed, when he pointed out the site of the foundations and gave me the description upon which I made the plan sent with this paper.

"Sutton Valence, commonly called Town Sutton, formerly belonged to the family of Valence, Earls of Pembroke, who possessed a castle here, the ruins of which still remain. The town stands on a declivity of the long range of hills dividing the Weald of Kent from the upper part of the county called the Red Hills. At the east end of the village or town are the ruins of the castle placed on a lofty eminence commanding a very extensive view over the Weald of Kent. In early times the whole of the Weald was an uninhabited forest, and continued in a wild and desolate state till after the Conquest. Very few, if any, Roman remains have been discovered in the Weald of Kent; but, as the Romans have left many vestiges of their occupation of Sutton, and a Roman road passing near the town, I venture to offer a conjecture that this was an important station of observation over the wild forests of the Weald, and that it is probable that on the site of the castle was formerly a Roman speculum or watch tower. The burial-place about to be described was within half a mile of the spot, and I have been informed that some years ago Roman urns and other remains were dug up close to the ruins of the castle.

"The field in which the foundations were found was on the top of the hill adjoining the town on the north side, and was called Bowhalls or Bowhaws; two of the adjoining fields are called Bloody Mountains, and there is a tradition that a battle was fought there between the Britons and the Romans, and that the slaughter was so great that the blood flowed over Bowhalls into the town.

"Cutt, the labourer before mentioned, who was an old man and had worked all his life time in the neighbourhood, remembered a very large mound or bank of earth standing directly over the burial place, which about forty years before that time was removed and the earth carted away and spread abroad upon the adjoining land.

"The field belonged to the estate of the Honourable Philip Bouverie Pusey, and was in the occupation of Mr. Crispe, who in December 1827 trenched the ground for the

purpose of planting hops; in the progress of the work there were discovered in the north-west corner of the field foundations or walls of stones and cement, the walls on the north-east side being about sixty feet in length, on the north-west and south-east sides about fifteen feet each, and then rounding off into an oval shape on the south-west; the walls were about eighteen inches thick and from three to four feet in height. Within the walls at the north-east angle were other walls connected with the outer walls, forming a square of eight feet, and near the centre of the wall on the north-east and within side was an excavation or cist about four feet square and five feet deep, the west side of which was walled with stone, but the three other sides were of the bare earth. Placed over the top of the cist was a round cover formed of coarse cement about six inches thick; it covered the whole of the mouth of the cist and was fixed on with clay. The bottom of the cist was strewed over with lime, (which Catt described as quick lime) and on the west side were the fragments of a large glass vessel with two handles capable of holding when perfect upwards of a gallon, within it were bones, ashes and lime; a small portion only of this vessel was preserved; in the south-east corner was a perfect glass vessel with one handle (fluted) which held nearly a quart; near this was a long necked earthen vessel which had fallen down; beyond, were two Samian ware pateræ placed one in the other and each filled with lime; at a little distance were two others placed in a similar manner with lime in them; and in the north-east corner was a glass patera, with a small Samian ware cup standing in it; these were the only contents of the cist. The whole of these are in my possession except the long necked bottle. Between the cist and the south-west or oval side of the foundations were three rows of large urns of unglazed baked earth; two of the rows extended the whole length of the inclosure and the other about half the distance. There were nearly one hundred of these urns of various forms, all of them of a large size, and some of them large enough to hold half a bushel; they were placed at regular distances from each other, and contained bones and ashes: near each of these larger vessels were placed small urns and other vessels of baked and unbaked clay, red, brown, blue, and black; pateræ and cups of Samian ware, &c. &c. Very few of the larger urns were taken out in a sufficiently perfect state to be preserved, and great numbers of the smaller specimens were broken to pieces and considered worthless by the workmen.

"Near the walls on the north side was a spot of considerable extent strewed with charcoal, bones, and ashes some inches in depth, and of a deep black hue. At about 150 feet to the south of the walls was a well filled up with stones and rubbish.

"The two vessels and pateræ in the cist were the only specimens of glass found; they were of a light sea-green colour.

"There were also found fibulæ of bronze, one set with a piece of red glass, some small ivory ornaments, part of a bronze clasp, a key, &c.

"I heard of only one coin, viz. Claudius in middlebrass; reverse, Pallas throwing a javelin in the field, S. C.

"Nearly all the urns, &c. came into the possession of Thomas Charles, Esq. of Chillington House, Maidstone, and myself. Among those in my possession is one large globe shaped urn of brown earth thirteen inches high and thirty-nine inches in circumference, on which are certain unintelligible marks rudely scratched.

"I have also four of the larger urns, several vessels of red earth with handles and lips, Samian pateræ with borders of ivy leaves, and many of the smaller urns.

"The potters' names on the Samian ware are

"TITIVS. QVINTI. OONNAA. OPMAC. COMRPIAIVI. CRESI.

&c. &c.

Queen Elizabeth's Treaty with the Grand Signior, in 1580.

23rd Dec. 1841. SIR HENRY ELLIS communicated from the Lansdowne MS. Vol. xxx. art. 9. "The English translacon of the privelege or lres of the most mightie Emperor Sultan Murad Chan, as towching peace and league wth the most excellent Prince Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of Englande, France, and Ireland, &c.

"The moste great and mightie, the moste worthie, mooste dreadfull, and moste bountifull, most holie, and to be honored and had in reverence with moste pure zeale, Prince of all creatures at this tyme, and onelie monarke of this adge, of power by the guifte of the devyne grace to devide the cepter of all Landes, Kingdoms, Provinces, Cytties, and Townes. We the most sacred Emperor Cæsar Musulman of Meccha, that is to saie, the devyne howse of the moste famous Medina, a moste flourishing cittie, and of the most blessed Hierusalem, of Egipte, that moste fertill lande, Ghemen and Zonan, Edon and Canan, and of the peaceable Sames, Hebes, and Lahza, Pasra, and Serusub, Halepia and Caramania, Drabeker, and Vanns, Dulkadir, Babulon, and of the three named Arabia of Æsrum, and of the Georgians, of rich Ciprus and the Kyngdome of Asia, of Osack, of Campus, of the White Sea and of the Blacke, of Grecia and Mesopotama, Affrica and Goletta, of Argier and the weste Tripolie of that worthie Europ, Buda and Temisver, of the Kingdome of Transilvania, Moldavia, and Wallabkia, and of verie manie like to theis. The Prince and Cesar moste holie, the moste mightie Prince Murad Cham, sonne of Prince Selym Cham, which was the sonne of Solymon, which was the sonne of Selym Cham, w^{ch} was the sonne of the Prince Payzered Cham, which was the sonne of Mehemet Cham. We, I saie, the moste mightie Prince Murad Cham, doe signifie and declare

by this o^r Regall Seale, that in our tyme The Queene of Englande, France, and Irelande, Elizabeth, the moste worthie of all Christien Princes, the ende of all whose affayres we wish to be most happie, did sende hir l^{ies} by the Right Honorable W^m. Harborne unto the excellent and o^r most famous Port which is the refuge of all worldlye Princes: In which hir Ma^{tie} declared that certaine of hir subjecte heretofore came into our foresaide Porte, and had pformed great obedience unto it, for wth cause also leave and license was graunted to them to come and goe in the trade of m^{ch}andize in all part^e of our Domynions. Also that it was comaunded by o^r hignes that none should trouble or hinder them in their Journey, or at their Journeyes end, either by Sea or lande, and did request that favour which we had shewed but to fewe of hir Maiesties men, now we should shewe to all hir subiects, wherefore even as wth all other Kyng^e which have shewed their obedience and good will to o^r famous Port, as be the French King, the Venetiens, and the King of Polonia, and other more we have made a peace and league, so also doe we ioyne and confirme a peace and league wth the afforesaide Queene, We pmitt therefore that all hir men and m^{ch}ant^e doe come saffelie wth all their goods and m^{ch}andize into our Domynions, excersize theire trade, kepe howse, and folowe their busynes without any molestacon, after their owne manner.

“ Also hir Ma^{tie} signified unto us, that of late some of hir men weare taken captyves and as yet kepte in bonde, requiring their releasement; and our highnes hath thoughte good that what graunte and demaunds we have made at the making of the most holie league and peace with other Princes, the same priveledges and demaundes we have made and do also geve unto hir Ma^{tie}, And doe straightlie comaunde o^r Beglerbies, Saniackbies, being o^r servant^e, also our Cadies, that is our Justices, also all o^r Custum^{rs} of all places, Port^e and Havons, that so long as the league and peace shalbe mayntayned by th’ambassato^{rs} of hir Ma^{tie} here resident, the condiçons and Articles of the same shalbe also firmelie kepte and mayntayned in o^r highnes side.

“ 1. Imprimis, therefore it is comaunded that the men and subjecte of the aforesaid Queene maie frelie passe through the sea in greate or little ships with goods and m^{ch}andize, and by the lande also may come into o^r Domynions, without prejudice or hurte either to man or beaste, and traffiq and occupie wthout travell.

“ 2. Item, if anie m^{ch}ant or other be taken in the waie or journey about his busines, then without all toring or trouble to be sett free.

“ 3. Item, if anie of their Ships will come or goe into anie place or porte, let him come and goe without any trouble.

“ 4. Item, we comaunde if any of their Ships, by reason of a Tempest of the Sea, which often happeneth, be in danger, and have neede of healpe, that our ships straighte way and men suocor and helpe them.

" 5. Item, if thei woulde buye meate and victuall for their money, let no man hinder them, but let them buy it wthout trouble.

" 6. Item, if their ships by misfortune be caste ashore, we comaunde the Begg, Judges, and other our subjecte to healpe them, and to restore such thinge as unto them remayne or may be saved.

" 7. Item, if the men and subjects of the foresaid Queene, their interpretors and merchants, shall come either by lande or sea for traffiq and m^{ch}andize into our Domy-nions, let them peaceablie passe having paid due custome; neither let the captaines of the sea or Rizes that are governors of ships or any other sorte of men, using the seas, hinder or molest them in their psons or goods or any waie.

" 8. Item, if anie Englishman weare indebted and in bonde, and coulde not be found by reason of the debt of an other man, let no man be taken or hindered for him, unlesse he were his suertie.

" 9. Item, if an Englishman at the poynte of death by his last Testament commytt his goods to anie man, let them be geven him, and if he died without testament, then let him have them to whome the Consull shall appoynt.

" 10. Item, if Englishmen, or men of any place apptaining to England, their m^{ch}ante or Interpretors, shall have any thing to doe to buy and sell and deale on credit, let them goe to the judge and cause it to be written in a booke. And if thei will thei mai take a bill from the judge, that if any strife should happen thei mighte looke in the book agreable wth the Bill, and dispatch their busines according to the tenor thereof. But if thei never caused it to be written in a boke, nor yet receyved bill, let not the judge admitt fals wittnes, but administer true lawe according to Justice.

" 11. Itm, if any saie theis Englishmen have spoken evell against our Musulman Law, and would affirme this by fals witnes, let not the Judge admit any false wittness, nor suffer them to be wronged.

" 12. Itm, if anie Englishman should commytt offence, and should flie and could not be founde, let none but him that was surtey for him be kepte troubled.

" 13. Itm, if any English Captyve or slave be founde, and the Consull should demaunde him, let him be examined diligentlie, and if wthout suspicon he be founde an Englishman, let him be geven free unto them.

" 14. Itm, if an Englishman come hether either to dwell or to traffique, whether he be married or not, he shall paie no tribute.

" 15. Itm, if thei will make Consull in Alexandria or Damaskus, in Samia or Caesaria, in Tunes or in the West Tripolie, or in the porte of Egipt, or in all other places, let them freelie doe it, and if thei will againe change them, they maye, and no man saie against it.

" 16. Itm, if their Interpretors be absent in waigtie affaires, let all business tarrie till he retorneth, and no man trouble them.

"17. Itm, if Englishmen be at controvsie betweene themselves, and would goe unto their Consulle, let no man hinder them, but let them freele goe unto their Consulle that the controvsie may be desided after their mann^r.

"18. Itm, if after the date of this priviledge any Pirat^e or govno^rs of ships sayling on the Sea shall take any Englishman, and should sell him either beyonde or about the Sea, Let him be examined according to Justice, and if he be founde an Englishman, and hath not receyved the Musulmans relygion, Let him be free, but if he bee yet found to be a christien, let him be restored to the Englishmen, and let the buyers aske the money of him that sould him.

"19. Itm, if our highnes shippes shall goe armed forth to sea, and there should fynde English shippes carrieng mchandise, let none molest them, but rather lett them be entreated honorablie; as we have geven and granted to the Frenchmen, Venetiens, and other Princes confederate wth us our priveleges and articles of the same, in like manner also doe we graunt unto theis Englishmen our privelege, and articles of our priviledg, and against this devyne lawe and preveledge let no man at any tyme committ any thinge.

"20. Itm, if any of their Ships great or little be on their voyadge or in the Road, Let no man hind^r them but rather further them.

"21. Itm, if Pirat^e or thieves steale or take away their good^e or shippes, let them with great diligence be soughte for and punished, and their goods restored.

"Finallie all Beglerbies and Captaines, Saniackbies or Slaves, also all or Servant^e cap-
taynes keping on the sea, also all Judges, Custom^rs and Rizes, servant^e of our highnes,
also all free Rizes, we comaund to kepe theis thing^e agreed uppon in the tenno^r of theis
priviledges; and this Priviledge, league and peace moste holie, as long as it shalbe kepte
on the pte of hir Matie, so long also we comand it to be kepte on o^r highnes pte.
Geven at Constantinople the yeare of our holie proffet Mahumed 983, in the moneth of
June, the yeare of Jesus Christe, 1580."

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Read 29th April, 1841.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1840.

WE the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 18th day of March 1841, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1840, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				965	13	10

RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1840.

By annual Subscriptions	973	7	0			
By Admissions of Members elected	193	4	0			
By one year's Dividend on £7,000 Stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1840	210	0	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	142	4	0			
By Stamp Duty on Bonds	19	10	0			
				1538	5	0
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions				378	0	0
				£2881	18	10

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1840.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Publications by the Society . . .	679	14	1			
For Taxes	24	15	10½			
For Salaries	447	10	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses . . .	107	6	6			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	28	5	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash . .	65	9	8			
For Collecting Subscriptions	48	0	9			
For Bond Stamps	16	10	0			
For Catalogue of Prints and Drawings on Account . .	21	10	6			
				1461	13	4½
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1841	1420	5	5½			
				£2881	18	10

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols £7,000.

Witness our hands this 2nd day of April 1841.

(Signed) MAHON.
ROBERT HARRY INGLIS.
THOMAS STAPLETON.
ALBERT WAY.

The Treasurer reports to the Auditors, that, in consequence of the advances made by him, under the sanction of the Vote of the Society on the 17th of March 1831, in aid of the Subscriptions for the publication of Anglo-Saxon works, the actual balance in his hands on the 1st of January last was only £898. 4s. 4d., the sum of £522. 1s. 1d. stated in his last year's Report not having been reimbursed to him. The expected publication of Layamon will, it may be hoped, reduce the amount of this outlay. In the mean time, the Treasurer has the satisfaction to find himself enabled, after providing for the probable expenses of the current year, to make an immediate purchase of £500 Consols, on receiving the sanction of the Council, thus increasing the Stock of the Society to £7,500, being an addition of £1,000 consols, since the audit of his Accounts in April 1839.

Read 14th April, 1842.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1841.

WE the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 17th day of March 1842, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1841, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's Account				1420	5	5½

RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1841.

By annual Subscriptions	937	2	6			
By Admissions of Members elected	226	16	0			
By 6 months Dividend on £7,000 Stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th Jan. 1841	105	0	0			
By 6 months Dividend on £7,500 Stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1841	112	10	0			
By Sale of Books and Prints	61	2	10			
By Stamp Duty on Bonds	25	10	0			
By accidental overcharge in last year's Disbursements	7	7	0			
				1475	8	4
By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions				294	0	0
				£3189	13	9½

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1841.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Artists and in Publications by the Society	669	16	3			
For Taxes	54	4	3			
For Salaries	447	10	0			
For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses	116	3	1			
For Insurance	22	11	0			
For Anniversary Dinner	27	2	0			
For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash	63	14	7			
For Collecting Subscriptions	46	8	6			
For Bond Stamps	28	5	0			
For Catalogue of Prints and Drawings on Account	25	4	0			
For Drawings	63	0	0			
For Bookbinding	42	4	6			
For Cases for the Museum	74	13	8			
Purchase of Stock	450	0	0			
				2130	16	10
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1842				1058	16	11½
				£3189	13	9½

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols £7,500.

Witness our hands this 12th day of April 1842.

(Signed) HENRY GALLY KNIGHT.
WILLIAM BURGE.
J. H. MERIVALE.
JOHN BIDWELL.

THE TREASURER reports to the Auditors that the Advances, amounting to £619. 16s. 1d., made by him, from time to time, under the sanction of the Vote of the Society of the 31st of March 1831, for defraying the charges of the publication of Anglo-Saxon Works, had reduced the actual Balance in his hands on the 31st December last to £439. 0s. 10½d. It may be expected that a portion of those Advances will be

reimbursed by the Sale of the Exeter Book, edited by Mr. Thorpe, and now ready for publication, and of Sir Frederic Madden's Edition of Layamon, now nearly completed. On the publication of the latter work, the Account will be made up, under the direction of the Anglo-Saxon Committee, and laid before the Society at their next Anniversary meeting. In the meantime, the Treasurer, notwithstanding this large outlay, has had the satisfaction of adding £500 Stock to the funded Property of the Society, making the total amount £7,500 Consols, of which £1,000 has been purchased since 1839.

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